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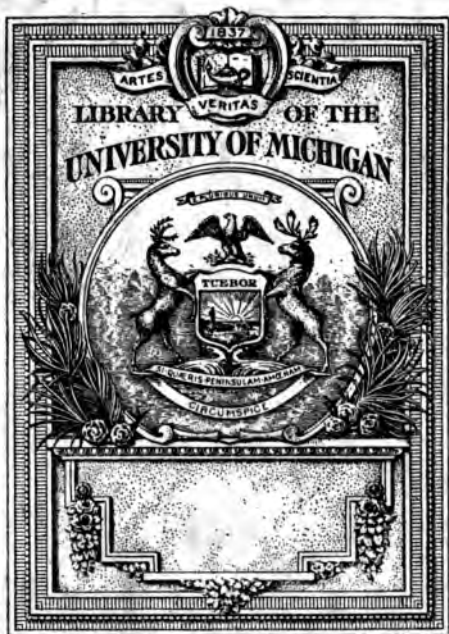
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MR HAYWARD'S LETTERS





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A SELECTION
FROM THE
CORRESPONDENCE
OF
ABRAHAM HAYWARD, Q.C.
=

FROM 1834 TO 1884.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY LIFE.

EDITED
BY HENRY E. CARLISLE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
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MR. HAYWARD'S LETTERS.



CHAPTER I.

1858-1860.

Fall of Lord Palmerston's Government—Mr. Hayward's 'Biographical and Critical Essays'—Letter from the Duke of Newcastle, the Government India Bill—Lord Palmerston's position—Letter from Mrs. Norton—Letter to Mr. Gladstone—Letter from Sir G. C. Lewis—Letter from the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Palmerston's return to power—Letter to Mr. Gladstone—Mr. Gladstone's mission to the Ionian Islands—Lord Palmerston's visit to the Emperor of the French—Letter to Lady Emily Peel—Letter from the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Gladstone's mission, Montalembert—Mr. Walpole's resignation—Letter to Sir G. C. Lewis—Letter from Mr. Gladstone—Sir John Young—Letter from Mrs. Norton—Letter from Lord Lansdowne—Letter from Mr. Cardwell—Letter to Lady Emily Peel—Letter from Mr. Gladstone—Sir Henry Storks—Lord John Manners, the Oude proclamation—The General Election of 1859—Russia and the war between France and Austria—Letter from Sir James Graham—Letter from Mr. Henry Drummond—Letter to Mr. Gladstone—Fall of Lord Derby's Government—Lord Palmerston's Ministry—Letter from Lord Clarendon—Letter from Mr. Gladstone—Letter from Sir G. C. Lewis, foreign extradition—Letter from Sir Henry Storks, the Continental Powers and England—Letter from Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, the French alliance.

THE principal subjects that were now engaging the attention of political men were the proposed India Bill

and Reform Bill. The passage of Lord Palmerston's measure for transferring the government of India to the Crown, which had been successfully introduced at the opening of the Session, was interrupted by the debates upon the Conspiracy to Murder Bill ; Orsini's attempt to assassinate Louis Napoleon (January 14, 1858) had been planned in England, and the object of the Bill was to impose additional penalties upon the promoters of such outrages in future. But the threatening language used in France against the nation whom they accused of protecting assassins, excited such violent irritation in England, that the Government failed to carry the second reading of their Bill (on Feb. 19), and resigned office in consequence.

Lord Derby was sent for by the Queen, and formed a Ministry which survived, in face of a hostile but disunited majority in the House of Commons, until the summer of 1859.

His administration was signalised by the pacification of India after the Mutiny, and the abolition of the East India Company's rule. Lord Palmerston's Bill dealing with the question had been abandoned at the time of his resignation ; the one the new Government introduced in its place failed to satisfy the House, and was withdrawn in favour of a measure based upon a series of resolutions, which passed into law.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

8, St. James's Street,

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,

Jan. 4, 1858.

I hear, on good authority, that the Government have resolved to bring in and try (or pretend to try) to carry

a *bond fide* Reform Bill, with a tolerably comprehensive Schedule A.

Charles Greville says that Palmerston considered almost every Liberal peer before fixing on Clanricarde,* having dwelt longest on Overstone. Sykes has just told me that up to the present time the Directors have not the smallest intimation of what the Government plan of Indian reform is to be. It seems agreed on all hands that Vernon Smith can't carry it through, and the prevalent rumour is that he is to be replaced by Wood.†

The general feeling amongst the Derbyites seems to be regret at having quarrelled with the *Liberal Conservatives*.

I have been staying at Lord Broughton's with Henry Lennox, and this was his constant *refrain*. I have also been at Wilton with (*inter alios*) Lord Stanley,‡ and had many talks with him. I was amazingly struck by his range of knowledge and powers of mind. These dottings down of London *on dits* of course need no answer.

Ever truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

The Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Clumber, Feb. 21, 1858.

Thanks for your news. Pam could take no other course than resign, and, what is more, he cannot resume office in the event of Derby failing to form a Government unless the House of Commons would rescind their votes, which is impossible.

I do not, however, think Derby *will* fail. He will

* As Lord Privy Seal.

† Sir Charles Wood, afterwards Viscount Halifax, Secretary of State for India in Lord Palmerston's Ministry of 1859.

‡ The present Earl of Derby.

form a Ministry, but its ability to stand will depend upon what extraneous props he may be able to secure. The old lot revived will not command the Commons or the country.

Yours very sincerely,
NEWCASTLE.

Mr. Hayward's literary achievements were by this time sufficiently recognised to warrant the collective reproduction of some of his scattered articles; the two volumes of 'Biographical and Critical Essays' published by Messrs. Longman in 1858, were very favourably received, and a few of the letters commenting upon them have been inserted in the following pages.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

8, St. James's Street,
March 31, 1858.

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,

I have taken the liberty of sending you a copy of my 'Essays,' in a note to one of which* you will find an account of the *coup d'état*, for the accuracy of which I can vouch.

Many of the details in the sketch of Lord Melbourne were supplied me by Mrs. Norton and W. Cowper. I also saw a good deal of him latterly, and so I did of Radowitz.

I have been staying a couple of days with Lowe in Surrey, and Cardwell joined us yesterday. Our joint conclusion was that the Derbyites have been guilty of *felo de se*. They say they won't go out on their Bill, † and hope to get over the second reading by promising great alterations in Committee.

The Palmerstonians are high in hope, and seem un-

* 'Parisian Morals and Manners,' vol. ii., pp. 206-210.

† The Government of India Bill.

conscious of the waning (or waned) popularity of their chief.

If he comes in, I do not see how he can last beyond the commencement of next Session. I cannot learn that there is any chance of union between him and Lord John Russell. All I hear from Paris leads me to suspect that Louis Napoleon is going down as fast as the Derbyite Ministry. There is a rumour the town constituencies* originated with Lord Stanley; but Lytton says that the whole Bill was concocted by Lord Ellenborough. I hope your book is in rapid progress. You seem to have had a long period of gestation as regards the printing of it. I go on Friday to Bodryddan (Shipleigh Conway's).

Ever truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

The floating Liberals are very angry with the Derbyites for not being able to keep out Palmerston. They say they cannot vote for nonsense.

Lord Lansdowne to Mr. Hayward.

Lansdowne House,

London, W., April 1858.

DEAR HAYWARD,

Accept many thanks for your volumes. Of the value of much of their contents I am well aware already, and I promise myself great pleasure in looking at the additions you have made. These *disjecta membra* will, I am sure, compose into a very agreeable and attractive body, and maintain a place in all libraries future as well as present.

Very truly yours,

LANSDOWNE.

* The Government Bill provided for the election of five members of the new Indian Council by the Parliamentary constituencies of London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Belfast.

The Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Clumber, April 3, 1858.

I have received the two volumes of your Essays, and thank you very much for sending them. I will read as many as I can find time for, and puff the remainder blindly. I do not mean by this, that I expect to be able to puff only those which I do not read, but to show you the reckless profligacy of my praise ; in short, what the *Times* has been to Palmerston that will I be to your book : of course not omitting to turn upon you and abuse it whenever I can see any advantage to myself by so doing. This will be the proper way, according to present practice, for the kind and at the same time judicious *lift* you give me in your Crimean article to be repaid.

Never did a Government throw away such a card as the present had in an India Bill ! Pam's bill was full of such defects in the formation of the Council that I confess I thought it impossible for the new Government not to produce an improved scheme ; and yet they have contrived to bring upon their measure that most fatal blow, ridicule, besides innumerable grave Constitutional objections. I really thought it a bad joke of the *Times* when I first read in the summary of Disraeli's speech that part of the scheme which constitutes five executive officers with enormous patronage, by the election of the ten-pounders of five Parliamentary Constituencies. I had hoped the Government, feeble as it necessarily is, would pull through this Session, for I can see no change which would be so much for the better as to compensate for the disadvantages of another Ministerial fall, but I fear they have committed suicide. They will probably not be unwilling to give up the objectionable parts of their India Bill and allow the House of Commons to lick it into shape, but it will be a bad, and I suspect a fatal,

prelude for the Budget, and that has always been the worst rock-ahead.

I have no doubt that, as you say, Pam is both willing and anxious to turn them out immediately. This is, of course, *his* best, if not only, chance of a return to Office, but he will find himself in a very different position. His popularity out of doors is gone, and he will not be *tolerated* as he lately was in Parliament, when the Liberals feel that he has *forced* himself upon them.

You hold over me the fate of Cincinnatus. I am not vain enough to think that my hand can be removed from the plough to the helm ; and I have so little confidence in any captain, that I have no inclination to serve "before the mast" with any of those who *are* seeking that honorable but dangerous post.

I go to town *for good* (except ten days of yeomanry in the beginning of May) on the 15th.

Ever yours very sincerely,
NEWCASTLE.

Dr. R. Ferguson to Mr. Hayward.*

125, Park St., Grosvenor Sq.,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

April 3, 1858.

I am exceedingly gratified by the value of your gift, and by the kindness which has enhanced it. It will be no news to you to know, authentically, that Lockhart considered your powers of amassing interest as unique.

If you have been wise or wicked enough to keep a journal of the social conditions of England in your day, I doubt whether any one now alive could present the aspects of English life with such power as yourself. Broadly and fearlessly handled, as you would handle the subject, what a *Memorabilia Haywardiana* you could give, uniting the critical ken of the scholar with the

* The eminent physician.

knowledge of the man of the world—that knowledge which can only be caught as looks are caught by the photographer, and which perishes under reflexion or recollection.

Truly yours,
ROB. FERGUSON.

Mrs. Norton to Mr. Hayward.

[EXTRACT.]

Chesterfield Street,
April 6, 1858.

I must be a 'Letteret,' dear Avocat, for I really am here because I cannot spare time to go elsewhere.

I received your book, and am extremely disappointed at your account of its proprietorship: for I think it just the sort of book that people like to have, and many of the papers extremely interesting, and all "capital reading," as poor Lord Melbourne used to say. I cleared my cumbered table and spread it ostentatiously out, with one or two things of the day, and I will foster it tenderly, and first praise and then refuse to "lend it."

I remember (alas!) telling Rogers if he would write for my *then* magazine I would "do anything for him." "Will you kiss me?" "Yes." "But *how*?" "Cheerfully!" He may have told the story, but he certainly *resented* the speech and showed very often that he remembered it.

I was glad to see you had allowed Radowitz his religion after all! Melbourne is very characteristic; and 'tis *all* well done, and makes a good collection of essays on various people and subjects with much variety.

Ho! was it *I* who sounded so pretty in my one string of pearls? I was wondering who it could be among your large-eyed and graceful Queen Bees; but they have more pearls, and were not there.

My novel stands still. I am worried and bothered

about my second son: and I can't sit at my desk like a tranquil author.

I think the Government will crawl on, and dry their wings like flies who have been rescued from the cream-jug, till some stronger catastrophe cuts them off.

Cantillon-Keir* wrote me that he was inspecting cattle at Buchanan by way of change. He stoops too much over his papers for health. I never saw such an attitude, except when Lord Nugent used to mimic a crow getting worms out of frosty ground—a piece of mimicking which he was fond of exhibiting in the “social hour” of his frequent unbending from cares of State.

Yours most truly,

C. CLIENT.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,

Bodrhyddan, April 9, 1858.

I propose to return to town early next week, and shall be most happy to breakfast with you on Thursday the 15th. I never meant to impose on so (well-) occupied a man as you the task of reading my Essays. All the letters I get agree that the Derbyites may last through the Session, discredited as they are with ordinary prudence. I collect from a letter received yesterday from Lewis, that the Liberals have made no progress towards union or consolidation of forces. He hopes that some mode may be hit upon of keeping in the Ministry and yet rejecting their India Bill.

Delane† writes that both the Bills before the House

* In consequence of Stirling of Keir having asked a question in the House of Commons as to the reported payment by the French Emperor of the legacy said to have been left by Napoleon I. to Cantillon (the man who attempted to assassinate the Duke of Wellington), Mrs. Norton here calls him “Cantillon Keir.”

† Mr. Delane, editor of the *Times*.

will be rejected, and a third probably proposed (he does not say by whom), retaining the existing Directors as the Council, and gradually replacing them by some new (and unnamed) mode.

I never remember a political reputation collapsing so rapidly as Lord Palmerston's. Lord Clarendon, too, must wait two or three years before he will be named again as possible Premier.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Sir George C. Lewis to Mr. Hayward.

Harpton, Radnor,
Oct. 28, 1858.

MY DEAR HAYWARD.

If you are not engaged in any other way just at present, would you like to come here on Tuesday next, the 22nd? We should be most happy to see you, and I am desirous to mention that the roads are not yet blocked up with snow. If you leave Paddington by the 9.30 train, you will arrive at our station (Kington, beyond Leominster) about 4.

The political article in the new *Quarterly* is evidently —'s. His antipathy to Palmerston has become a sort of mania. It is quite ludicrous for the admirers of the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh to talk of Palmerston's ignorance of domestic questions. Palmerston understands foreign policy, military and naval affairs, thoroughly well. He has also got up all the sanitary questions, and *believes* in them, which is something to say for anybody. I am afraid it is more than I can say for you.

Disraeli does not seem to have got his Reform prospectus ready, or at least not ready for publication. Query—will the shares come out at a premium or a discount? I look upon it that his scheme of having an aristocratic Reform Bill, to increase the power of the

country gentlemen, must end in smoke. It would not live as long as their India Bill.

Ever truly yours,
G. C. LEWIS.

The Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Clumber, Nov. 4, 1858.

I have no doubt your conclusion is right; indeed, I never doubted that, let others think or intend what they may. Your late host is still firm in the opinion, that he must and will be Premier again. I think, however, I see a little change in the caste. The *new* men whose tails were to have been salted last summer seem to have flown away, and if Palmerston was to be sent for tomorrow, I suspect his *not d'ordre* would be—"Smith,* fall out; *rest* as you were." Did you happen to see an article on Tuesday in the *Morning Post*? These articles are, it is well known, *communicated*; and it would seem that some of the old pals have complained that the *organ* gave the lion's share of praise to the lion; which, as he was *only* the British Beast, they did not think fair—so that article was written to keep them in good-humour for future service. I almost fancied Kinglake must have given up his history. I *fear* it will be too fair to justify my publication, which in that case will have to wait for a less-interested Editor than myself.

Bright has, I suspect, put more than one party in a fix; Derby must be more than ever puzzled to decide between a true bill and no bill; but it would not surprise me if Bright's speeches determine him to adopt the latter. On the other hand, John Russell has the open offer of Bright's adherence.

* Mr. Vernon-Smith, President of the Board of Control.

The *Charles et Georges* affair looks ugly for the Government.* It would be strange if an Imperial *friendship* were to kill *two* Ministries. If Parliament were sitting, the present would die no other death.

I heard from Mrs. Norton to-day. Her letter is full of its usual brilliancy, but it is not difficult to see through it spirits broken and a heart ill at ease.

I am getting well, but not very fast, and I go to town about the 15th. I should like then to have some talk with you about Church Rates, if you are there. You are a bold man to have promised an article on the subject.† What poor creature was guilty of the political article in the *Quarterly*?

Yours very sincerely,
NEWCASTLE.

The next letter relates to Mr. Gladstone's mission to the Ionian Islands ; other letters also refer to the same subject.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

Harpton Court, Kington, Hereford,
MY DEAR GLADSTONE, Nov. 5, 1858.

Is it really true that you are going to the Ionian Isles ? If so, I hope not for long. I really cannot make up my mind to congratulate you, for though the affairs of the Ionian Isles may be in a tangled state, I cannot

* The diplomatic correspondence arising out of the seizure of the *Charles et Georges*, a French slaver, by the Portuguese Government. The French Government, with the acquiescence of Lord Malmesbury, enforced compensation from the Portuguese Government.

† Mr. Hayward at this time treated the then complicated question of Church Rates, in an article written with the same vigour and studious accuracy that he lavished upon his brilliant biographical



fancy that it is a *dignus vindice nodus*. Lowe and Venables are here, and they as well as our host* rather agree with me in this respect; but, observe, entirely from the very high estimate we form of you, and of your importance to domestic interests at the present time.

I have a letter from Young, dated Oct. 21, from which I should infer that he has no immediate cause for anxiety. I have heard from him constantly (at intervals of a month or six weeks) ever since he went, and his opinion is that his subjects are utterly unfit for constitutional government; at all events, that the present constitution is an absurdity.

I came here yesterday from Broadlands, where I left the Palmerstons in high spirits, and not devoid of hope. The day before I left, he hunted all the morning in scarlet, and played billiards with me till half-past twelve at night.† The Duke of Newcastle is getting slowly better. I was sorry to miss you at Keir. With best regards to Mrs. Gladstone,

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

* Sir George Cornwall Lewis.

† "He was fond of billiards, and when at Bocket or Broadlands played three games (neither more nor less) before retiring for the night. He was about on the level of those who play a good deal without taking rank as players. His best strokes were the winning hazards, and fortune favoured him as much in this as in the political game. After three or four *flukes* he would say, 'I think I had better not name my stroke.' He was never the least put out by losing, although he enjoyed winning, especially if Lady Palmerston was looking on." ('Lord Palmerston,' by A. Hayward. *Fraser's Magazine*, November 1865.)

Mr. Hayward to Sir G. C. Lewis.

[EXTRACT.]

MY DEAR LEWIS, 8, St. James's Street,
Nov. 11, 1858.

I had some talk with Lord Carnarvon yesterday. They evidently pride themselves on having made prize of Gladstone. He is especially instructed to report, I believe, on the local grievances. He is not named *Lord* High Commissioner. Lytton* gives out that the Greeks have been unjustly depressed, and he sends out Gladstone with a view of their social elevation! Cardwell laughs at the whole affair, or rather takes Lord John Russell's view. Mrs. Gladstone and daughter are gone too.

I missed the Palmerstons, and hardly knew what they came to town for. They return to Broadlands to-day. I hear nothing of Derbyite intentions touching Reform. With best regards to Lady Theresa and the young ladies,

Ever truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

It strikes me to be the height of imprudence in Lords Palmerston and Clarendon to go to Compiègne,† just after the Portuguese affair, and with the Montalembert prosecution ‡ pending. They are already too damaged by their friendship with L. N.!

Lady Palmerston does not go.

* Colonial Secretary in Lord Derby's Ministry.

† On a visit to the Emperor Napoleon.

‡ "The Count de Montalembert wrote an article in the 'Correspondant' of October, 1858, entitled 'Un Débat sur l'Inde au Parlement Anglais,' which he made the vehicle of such exasperating allusions to the Imperial *régime* that it provoked a prosecution. . . He was found guilty, and the sentence was six months' imprisonment with a fine of 3,000 francs. . . The sentence, after being confirmed on appeal, was remitted by the Emperor." (Hayward's 'Eminent Statesmen and Writers,' "Montalembert," vol. i. 321.)

Sir G. C. Lewis to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Harpton, Radnor,
Nov. 12, 1858.

As it has turned out, it was very unlucky that Palmerston did not allow Sir W. Clay * time to carry his Church Rate Bill. As far as I remember, the chief motive was a dislike of prolonging the Session. My firm conviction is that all the objections to the "ticketing" plan, whether those formerly made by the friends of the Church or those now made by the Dissenters, are devoid of all weight. The fact is, that in both cases the objection has been a mere pretext: formerly the Church would not yield, now the Dissenters will not. The argument of 'premium upon dissent,' was good for nothing. In this neighbourhood an average church-rate is about 3*d.* in the £ per annum. If a member of the Church becomes a Dissenter in order to save this payment, he must become a pewholder in a Dissenting chapel, and will probably pay more for his pew than he saves in church-rate. As to 'setting a stigma upon a man,' 'marking him out for persecution,' all this is mere bosh! The pugnacious Dissenters now make themselves sufficiently known. A man who opposes a church-rate may do an invidious and offensive act, but a man who availed himself of an undoubted legal right would not be complained of. I have thought a great deal upon this question, and discussed it for hours over and over again. I am satisfied the only compromise possible is to keep everything as it is, to ask for no additional power, but to remove the grievance of the Dissenters by allowing them to exempt themselves by a simple declaration, that they are not members of the Established Church. If the

* Sir Wm. Clay carried the second reading of his Church Rates Abolition Bill on March 5, 1856, but it never reached the third reading.

Dissenters are determined not to accept this compromise, and if they have a majority in the House of Commons, I feel convinced that no *other* compromise is practicable, and that simple abolition is the only alternative worth thinking of. The sum is not large enough to deserve any great struggle; but I must say, that I think the Dissenters are as unreasonable now as the Churchmen were a couple of years ago.

Derby's was a good speech at Guildhall. It looks as if they intended to have a splendid bill of fare for next Session, including a Reform Bill *à la financière* of Dizzy's best concoction.

I regret with you the visit to Compiègne. It looks as if the two Lords thought they had a large balance of popularity with which they could play ducks and drakes. The prosecution of Montalembert will excite much sympathy here.

Ever yours truly,
G. C. LEWIS.

Mr. W. Cowper to Mr. Hayward.*

DEAR HAYWARD,

Blenheim, Nov. 26, 1858.

Thanks for your letter, which has followed me here. I am spending a few days in this stately house, while the Palmerstons are at Sir W. Middleton's. I think his visit to the Emperor will prove of use in explaining to the latter the real character of the slave trade he has been authorising, and proving to him that the captives he allowed to be shipped were actually made prisoners for the purposes of the French slave-dealers.

We can hardly expect the Emperor to adopt a mode

* The Rt. Hon. William Cowper (now Lord Mount-Temple), was the 2nd son of Lady Palmerston by her first marriage with Earl Cowper. He became Lord Palmerston's heir, and assumed the name of Cowper-Temple.

of governing more in accordance with English ideas, while the bulk of his own people are so careless about the suffering and the misery of others. The French nation seems to have made up its mind, that universal suffrage in France can lead only to red republicanism or despotism, and they are illiberal enough to prefer the latter.

If you have not finished your article on Church Rates, I wish you would recommend the exemption of all those who declare that they have contributed, within a period to be fixed, to the expenses of another place of worship. The hardship urged by Dissenters is that of being compelled to pay rates for a Church they don't frequent, in addition to the payments for the chapel they use; and this complaint can be most simply met by releasing those who can show that they do *bond fide* support their own place of worship; and in this way Dissenters might be relieved without requiring of them any declaration of faith, or enrolling them permanently as a distinct body.

Truly yours,

W. COWPER.

*Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.**

8, St. James's Street,

Nov. 29, 1858.

DEAR LADY EMILY,

As you would not give me an opportunity of saying so this morning, I must write to say what a delightful six days I have to thank you for. There is certainly something in the air of Drayton Manor (or, to adopt a more natural solution, in the host and hostess) which makes everything and everybody there more or less pleasant or attractive in some way.

* The wife of the present Sir Robert Peel. With this lady, Mr. Hayward enjoyed a frequent correspondence, and she is one of those ladies whom he addresses in his 'Verses of Other Days.'

I have just met Arthur Russell fresh from Paris, who says the Montalembert affair is making much more sensation here than there.

I also met an old Indian, and learnt from him that Sir T. M. was Commander at Delhi when the Rebellion broke out, and showed great presence of mind on the occasion.

You really must take care of yourself, for you are far from well ; and if your laugh had lost nothing of its grace, it *had* lost a *leetle* of its buoyancy.

“ Her laugh, full of mirth, without any control
But the sweet one of gracefulness, rang from her soul.”

I had a carriage to myself all the way, and got up my ‘Cornwallis’ as comfortably as in my own room.

With best regards to Sir Robert,

Ever, dear Lady Emily,

Most sincerely yours,

A. HAYWARD.

The Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Clumber, Dec. 8, 1858.

I have heard from Gladstone, dated the 29th of Nov., from Corfu. He by no means treats the publicity of the despatch* with the nonchalance which your Vienna correspondent attributes to him ; but he not unnaturally appears to feel that, so far as personal position is concerned, his is less affected than Young's. He was going

* Sir John Young's confidential despatch to Mr. Labouchere (Colonial Secretary in Lord Palmerston's Ministry), dated the 10th June, 1857, which had been improperly published in the *Daily News* almost at the moment of Mr. Gladstone's departure on his mission. Sir John Young in this despatch recommended the cession of the Islands, except Corfu. This recommendation, which indicated to the public mind that he held views at variance with the object of Mr. Gladstone's mission, necessitated his recall.

to Cephalonia and the other islands in a week, but meant to be back again at Corfu by Christmas. I attach but little importance to the Viennese alarm at his sympathy with oppressed nationalities. Gladstone is not a diplomat, and probably spoke in the salons of Count Beust very much what he felt about the tyrannies of Bomba, or those of some of our more intimate friends ; but they can hardly have formed any apprehension of his being a second Palmerston, and encouraging either Sicilians, Lombardians, or Hungarians to rely upon any British assistance in the case of revolt. Of one thing I am sure : the oppressed nationalities themselves may as well rely upon Bright's Brown Bess as upon Gladstone's claymore.

Great allowances must be made for the position of the Government with foreign Powers and with the Ionians, in consequence of the publication of the despatch, but it is hardly fair towards Young for them to instruct the *Herald* to announce to the world, that he has changed his mind and withdrawn the recommendation of July 1857. I believe that he not only did so, but that he did it before the present Government acceded to office ; but these partial disclosures must injure Young's reputation for firmness and consistency ; and he ought, after the cruel accident of his despatch being divulged, to have the opportunity of first telling his own story. I fear, however, he will, under any circumstances, find his position at Corfu untenable.

The French Emperor gets deeper into the mire, and Montalembert at present has the whip-hand of him. Every Frenchman must be theatrical, and the Count is not free from a love of stage effect ; but in its essence his position is a noble one, and his conduct in refusing condonation as wise as it is legal. Nobody expects him to come off ultimately the victor in this present encounter ; but assuredly he will weaken the power of his

assailant for any future attack. The feeling in this country is growing so strong, that it will be impossible for Malmesbury or any other Foreign Secretary to retain at once their places and their private relationships with the Emperor. These politicians must now, I think, be convinced how grave a mistake they have made in treating the alliance as a personal instead of a national concern.

I am, my dear Hayward,
Yours very sincerely,
NEWCASTLE.

The next letter indicates the reasons which induced Mr. Walpole, a few days later, to resign the Home Secretaryship in Lord Derby's Ministry, when the Government proposals for the extension of the franchise became known.

Mr. S. H. Walpole to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Jan. 10, 1859.

I am very sorry for what you say. If the Government take a £10 and a £6 value in counties and boroughs, I am confident they would destroy our mixed form of government, and I believe they will ruin themselves.

Would that they had but a little moral courage, and their game is as easy as it will then be difficult.

Ever yours very sincerely,
S. H. WALPOLE.

Mr. Hayward to Sir G. C. Lewis.

MY DEAR LEWIS,

8, St. James's Street,

Jan. 13, 1859.

The truth about Gladstone is that an offer of the

appointment* has been made to him. I believe Monday last was the day when it was dispatched.

I have a letter from him, dated January 4, in which he talks of being back for the second reading of the Reform Bill, which he assumes will be about the second week in March at latest. He *may* answer by telegraph, but I don't think he will. In his report he highly praises Young's *whole* administration. He says in his letter that the publication of *the* despatch has in a great measure defeated the purpose of his mission. It is a strange puzzle.

People are now beginning to think that there will be no Government Reform Bill till Bright has tried his hand. I dined with the Duke of Newcastle yesterday. He earnestly hopes Gladstone will not accept.

It is said that [* * * *] has kicked up all this European hubbub by repeating Louis Napoleon's speech to Hübner† at the Jockey Club in an exaggerated shape. It was only overheard by him and Lord Cowley. With best regards to the ladies,

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Corfu, Jan. 18, 1859.

I write a very hasty line to thank you for your letter, and to say that you are quite right in supposing that my tenure of office here is to be for the moment only, and that I have the fullest expectation of being in London

* Of Lord High Commissioner, to carry out his proposed reforms in the Ionian Islands.

† M. von Hübner was the Austrian Ambassador at Paris. At the Emperor's reception on the 1st of January, 1859, Louis Napoleon said to him, "I regret that the relations between our two Governments are not more satisfactory; but I beg you to assure the Emperor that they in no respect alter my feelings of friendship to himself."

in time for the practical duties of the Session. Young's continuance here became impossible, *after* the publication of his dispatch. I had recommended constitutional changes, to which the Government agreed in a most liberal spirit. A successor to Young could not be sent out in time for that *prompt* convocation of the Assembly which, in order to stop agitation and intrigue, I soon saw would be advisable. Under these circumstances I could not but hold myself in readiness, if desired, to try and break the back of the question with the Assembly. I can by no means say they will accept the proposed changes; but I can truly say that, whether they accept or reject, England will stand better with the Islands, and with Europe, and that is the main matter for us.

Thanks for all your news, in reply to which I have given ours, such as it is. Your friend, Lady Buller, dines with us to-day and I shall tell her of you. If you happen to come across Lord Lansdowne, pray tell him Lacaita works *admirably*.

Sincerely yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

Sir John Young to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Corfu, Jan. 18, 1859.

I have your letter of the 9th. I have not resigned, but am recalled with all sorts of compliments, and indeed explicit promises of employment in a position "suitable to my talents and character—" bless the mark!*

I do not think the Government could do anything else at the conjuncture things have arrived at. Their first steps were false and taken under erroneous impressions,

* In 1861, Sir John Young was appointed Governor of New South Wales, and he afterwards succeeded Lord Monck as Gov.-General of Canada; he was raised to the peerage as Lord Lisgar, and attained other dignities.

but latterly they have acted entirely under Gladstone's inspiration. His offer to become ordinary Lord High Commissioner for the purpose of carrying the reforms he projects, converting his mission of inquiry into one of action, and so entirely changing its character, could not but be accepted by the Government under the circumstances. Still, I think Gladstone will succeed and pass his reforms: the one single firm will do wonders amidst the divided councils, vague weak hopes, and cowardice of the Legislators.

The original suggestion of the Southern Islands and retention of Corfu came to me from Labouchere, and it so appears in printed papers in the hands of the Government—Palmerston's. Lytton seems to have started with some preconceived ideas of his own, and is not disposed to admit that the reality does not correspond with them. No man can be more out in the idea, that the Ionians are socially depressed: their whole bearing and manner show the contrary; their manners are generally excellent, and they frequent the palace; but the violence in the papers and the rows in the Legislative Assembly are the necessity of the position; if one set of men will not indulge in them, others will, and so oust them out of their popularity and their places at their next election.

Where secret voting is used, the popular prejudice and the influence of the lower priests carry all before them. Whatever question there is, Sir Edward Lytton and the Government have ample information before them to decide it upon, and they should have made the decision in England; as it is, they have turned all heads here, and gone far to reverse the policy which I have steadily, unflinchingly, and successfully pursued for three-and-a-half years.

Ever sincerely yours,
JOHN YOUNG.

Mrs. Norton to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR AVOCAT,

Edinburgh, Jan. 27, 1859.

I send by same post a *Scotsman*, because there are some lines by me on Burns. Pray go to-and-fro praising them! It did not occur to me to try for the "Crystal Prize," but you see it is won by a *woman*—huzza! Miss Isabel Craig is Scotch by birth, and was humble in position, having begun by *making stocks for gentlemen's neckcloths*. She afterwards wrote for 'Scotsman' and 'Chambers,' and was after that female secretary to a Society, I think called, for the 'Promotion of Social Science' in Waterloo Place.

I have *long* admired her, and read her poems to Lady Falkland when she was ill last summer. I hope you will like my lines; on the 'Poet and Man—not *Angel!*' and so I say good-bye.

I missed the Ayr dinner, which I intended to have contemplated, by catching a cold walking in the wind and rain, in petticoats as short as 'Tam o' Shanter's' Witch's sark!

Stirling also caught a bad cold (not from adopting a feminine costume), and was unable to attend the dinner. *He* meant to have gone to Ayr.

Edinburgh was very quiet on the 'Centenary' day. Even the enthusiasm of the Scotch is '*frappé à la glace*.' It is a new acquaintance, and they don't feel familiar enough with it to be jolly—and think of 3,000 sitting down to *Temperance tea-trays!!* I'd as lief be a duck and sit in a pond with my chin upon duckweed. As it is, my chin is obliged to rest on the edge of a warm gruel-bowl, where with disconsolate snuffings I consider whether a hundred years hence (when it can do me no good) people will be reading 'Hayward's biography of that remarkable woman,' and going to look at the turn-

pike-gate on the road from Guildford to Shalford on the scene of inspiration for the story of 'Rosalie.'
Adieu!

The -by- you - appreciated - and - indeed - over-complimented -and-patiently-indulged-but-by-many-others-not-sufficiently-valued-Poetess,

CAROLINE NORTON,
alias
CAROLINE CLIENT.

Lord Lansdowne to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR HAYWARD,

Bowood, Calne, Wilts,
Jan. 28, 1859.

I am obliged to you for your letter and Ionian news, which, pending the development of the greater drama, fills up the vacant sphere in public speculation. Wishing Gladstone may succeed; I am glad he gives himself the best chance by fighting single-handed. A Governor with a Commissioner behind him to pull the strings was a wretched combination, and if he hits upon a prescription that will cure a constitutional disorder of such long standing in a few weeks, he will get and deserve great credit. To form a conjecture on the result requires a knowledge of the people and their intimate habits I do not possess.

Lacaita will have had all the pleasures of the journey, which the season and the places must have made delightful.

I go to town next week to see what entertainments have been got up for us. I suspect *all* the performers are very unwilling to begin, but the curtain must be drawn at last. It is impossible not to feel great curiosity, though not so easy to take any real interest.

Yours very truly,
LANSDOWNE.

Mr. Cardwell to Mr. Hayward.

[EXTRACT.]

MY DEAR HAYWARD, Ellerbeck, Chorley,
Jan. 29, 1859.

The affair is a curious one, but we must see the despatches before we can form a just view of it. I think you have given Young very good advice. For, unless those who may wish to befriend him are well informed, how can they do it? It appears, however, that Gladstone has spoken highly of him, and I presume will advance his claims to another preferment. The awkward thing is that, as Young himself wished to stay, and that is well known, the recall must wear the appearance of a somewhat censuring act.

Very truly yours,
EDWARD CARDWELL.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

DEAR LADY EMILY, 8, St. James's Street,
Feb. 7, 1859.

I feel very much flattered and obliged by your letter. One reason for the success of my article* may be that it was partly written under the inspiration of Drayton. I was very glad to hear, from the Duchess of Wellington yesterday, that you had quite recovered from the indisposition from which you were suffering before your trip to Paris.

The Government now give out that they never thought of postponing their Reform Bill till after Easter, and the belief is that we shall have it in a fortnight or three weeks. My notion is that they originally meditated a very Liberal measure, but that they have changed their

* On 'Cornwallis.'

tactics in consequence of the Conservative feeling of the House and country. Hayter told me on Saturday, that a new Parliament at this time would be the most Conservative known for thirty years.

The reports of the Emperor's* speech are considered highly pacific and reassuring. But his actions do not always accord with his words.

In his last letter (dated the 27th Jan.) Gladstone talks of being on his return in a month. He writes in good spirits.

There is a new 'Histoire de Marie Antoinette' which you will find well worth reading. Lytton the younger has just published a new book of poems (some very beautiful) under the name of *Owen Meredith*.

At present all looks favourable for the Government. With kind regards to Sir Robert,

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Corfu, Feb. 8, 1859.

On Saturday I gave the Assembly the Queen's reply to the petition for union, which I believe was found intelligible. I also laid before them my propositions, which I am afraid will in England be thought extravagant. They will probably here be rejected for being contemptibly insufficient. Neither the one opinion nor the other will break my heart, if men who are competent to judge and who have attended or may attend to the case, shall think with me that they are such as were necessary to set right the position of England in these islands; for, great as our country is, she may lose and often has lost character in her dealings with the small.

* Louis Napoleon.

I thought these fellows would by adjournment have circumvented me altogether; but now that they have had a fair and liberal offer (as I hope it is) made them, their accepting it forthwith is a matter of secondary though not inconsiderable moment. If they refuse,* I think Storks† will have a very easy berth.

We have just been dining with the Bullers, and have as usual talked you over. I like them both very much. He is so frank and soldierlike; and these qualities, I must admit, are not the commonest in Ionia.

I send you a *Gazette* with our sayings and doings. If you care for Modern Greek, look at the version. It is done by a most able man and excellent scholar. The Italian, except a little bit of mine, is also most carefully wrought by Mr. Lacaita.

Sir H. Storks is on his way, and will come fast or slow according to affairs here. Any letter after 15th to me should be to *Posta Restante, Venezia*. As well as I can guess, I *may* get away about the 21st, and I mean to cross Northern Italy. But it may be later or sooner.

Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

Sir Henry Storks to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Palace, Corfu, Feb. 22, 1859.

I arrived here on the 17th, having spent four days in Malta.

* The Queen refused the petition of the Ionian Legislative Assembly for union with Greece. But Mr. Gladstone was instructed to submit certain reforms, which should assimilate the constitution of the Islands as near to that of this country as circumstances would permit.

† Sir Henry Storks succeeded, after the temporary intervention of Mr. Gladstone, to the Lord High Commissionership of the Ionian Islands.

Gladstone left last Saturday, the 19th inst., on board the *Terrible* for Venice. The Parliament summoned for an extraordinary Session on the proposed Reform are still discussing their answer to the proposal. There is no doubt of the result: they will be refused.

The ordinary Session for the despatch of business commences on the 1st of March. It would be more convenient to me to postpone the meeting of Parliament till a later period, but there is nothing like taking the bull by the horns, and I shall meet them, and may the Lord give me a good deliverance!

Gladstone is regretted by many and respected by all. Nothing could have been better than the judgment, temper, firmness and talent he has shown. It sometimes staggers me to reflect, that I succeed him. You will doubtless see him on his arrival, and learn his own account. Nothing could exceed his kindness and consideration to me, and I thank him.

Lady Buller was very glad to hear of you. She is charming, and a great stand-by. I will write again and more fully when I see my way a little clearer. Remember me to the Duke and all friends, and in haste

Believe me, my dear Hayward,

Very truly yours,

H. STORKS.

Lord John Manners to Mr. Hayward.

St. Katherine's Lodge, Regent's Park,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

March 19, 1859.

Many thanks for your letter and its enclosure. I don't know what Lord Canning's friends have to complain of. If his Oude proclamation* was right, I admit we have

* Lord Ellenborough (President of the Board of Control) had censured Lord Canning's Oude proclamation—Lord Stanley, as the first Secretary for India under the Queen's Government of that

done him wrong ; but if, as I hold, his conduct in that respect was indefensible, I cannot see how the Government could mark its sense of that conduct in a more moderate or courteous manner than has been adopted since the publication of the Ellenborough despatch.

The whole question seems to me to lie there ; and there is nothing in Lord Clyde's letter which shows any approbation on his part of that episode in Lord Canning's policy which we condemned at the time, and on reflection still continue to condemn.

Lord Stanley has never hesitated publicly or privately to express his admiration of the general policy of Lord Canning, and of the great constancy and moral courage he has displayed, with that one painful exception.

As to reform : the issues are not in the hands of Government. Brooks' and the Reform Club must please themselves. It is to be charitably presumed that the various sections of the Liberal party who are united to support Lord John's amendment are also united as to its result.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN MANNERS.

At the date of the next letter, the country was in the midst of a General Election, consequent upon the defeat of the Government on their Reform Bill, and their appeal to the country. War between France and Austria commenced while the elections were taking place.

country, issued a proclamation in which Lord Canning's policy was upheld. The whole story is told in the 'Life of the Prince Consort,' by Sir Theodore Martin, vol. iv., chap. 85.

The Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Clumber, April 24, 1859.

So far as I can form an opinion, the best-informed Derbyites do not expect a majority in the new Parliament, but I fancy the certainty of war will be in their favour where parties are equally divided, so many thinking it right to support *any* Government at the commencement of a war. This will not, however, tell much upon the members when returned.

We are feeling the Radical impetus in this country given by the dissolution. At Nottingham, *moderate* Liberals are at a discount, and the Attorney-General's son-in-law has hoisted the Tory banner in hopes of catching the Chartists. At Newark the Radical will come in at the head of the poll, and my son and Handley will have a race for the second seat.

I suspect we have not yet got the exact truth about the Austrian move, though I look upon war (as you know I have done *all along*) as certain. I fear the Government will very soon involve us in it. Many thanks for your valuable letters.

Ever yours very sincerely,

NEWCASTLE.

Sir James Graham to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR SIR,

Netherby, May 3, 1859.

I value highly the good opinion of Lord Lyndhurst, and I am obliged to you for your kindness in giving me reason to hope that I still retain it. If Lord Derby be overthrown, the task of governing this country in present circumstances will be most arduous. Union, and mutual confidence and forbearance in the Liberal Party are indispensable for success. Whether these requisites at the critical juncture will be found, is very problematical.



I do not see how a reasonable doubt can be entertained respecting a convention between France and Russia,* in the face of Fitzgerald's † admission on the hustings, that Gortschakoff acknowledges "a written engagement." The time has gone by for a play upon words ; at least I hope that it will be found so very early in June.

On the whole, the Constituencies have resisted temptation nobly. The plague-spots will be laid bare ; and the knife must be applied with an unsparing hand.

The manning and fitting out a fleet, even at the last moment, is some compensation on the part of the Government for many sins both of omission and commission.

My daughters desire to be remembered to you.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

JAS. GRAHAM.

Mr. Henry Drummond to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

May 6, 1859.

We can never have more in black and white about the Russian Treaty with France than we have, because Morny went on a special mission ; everything that passed between him and the Emperor was *viva voce*: it was then the seed was laid, not now. Russia will certainly not join France to set up free institutions in Italy, but she will certainly stick like a burr on the side of Austria on the Danube. Our negotiations have been detrimental to Austria, and France has held up his thumb to his nose at Lord —.

Always yours,

H. D.

* In the event of a war between France and Austria about Italy, Russia had promised France to keep neutral.

† Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Lord Derby's Administration.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

[EXTRACT.]

MY DEAR GLADSTONE, 8, St. James's Street,
May 7, 1859.

I was last evening at the Bernstorffs.* All the diplomats together knew no more of the war than the newspapers.

The Liberal party are anxious to have a stand-up fight with Lord Derby as soon as Parliament meets. The onward tactics are especially pressed by the ultras. When I mentioned this to Lord Palmerston he did not appear so eager, and I thought I observed a disinclination to turn out the Government on Reform, which of course would give Lord John Russell the advantage.

The *Times* understates and the *Herald* overstates the Liberal hopes. They will eventually, I think, be about 25 or 26. A censure of the late dissolution has been discussed, but does not seem likely to be adopted. Indeed, the course of the Opposition must be regulated by the Address.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Persigny comes here.† This is fixed.

By the time the new Parliament met, the differences between Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell had been settled. Lord Derby's Government fell on the 10th of June, before the vote of censure carried against it by the united Liberal majority. Lord Palmerston was subsequently entrusted by the Queen to form a Govern-

* Count Bernstorff was the Prussian Minister.

† As Ambassador. He was a strong partisan of Lord Palmerston, and very unacceptable to Lord Derby's Government.

ment, in which Lord John Russell selected the Foreign Secretaryship ; so that Lord Clarendon, who had held this office before under Lord Palmerston, and had no inclination for any other, for a time retired from political life. In negotiating with the leaders of the old "Peelite" party, Lord Palmerston derived much assistance from Mr. Hayward, who was eager that a strong Government should be formed, capable of carrying on the affairs of the country without intervention.

Mr. Hayward to his Sisters.

June 16, 1859.

There is a constant shifting of offices, and nothing can be positively known till to-morrow.* The Whigs are as usual savage at the admission of the Peelites, but can't do without them. Nothing shall ever again induce me to ask for anything, and for myself personally I really want nothing. But it was my article on the Crimean War that first re-established the Peelites in public opinion, and I have done more than any one else to reconcile them to Lord Palmerston.

It was through me that Sir George Lewis communicated to Gladstone his readiness to give up the Chancellorship of the Exchequer to him if he wished, and it was I who first told Lord Palmerston that Gladstone would join. All this is perfectly well known in the political circles. But found no expectations on it.

As to the office they once offered me (the Poor Law), it has been vacated by Lord Devon for the express purpose of its being filled up by the Derby Government.†

* Lord Derby's Government had been defeated on the 10th of June, and resigned on the 17th.

† Lord Courtenay had on his father's death, in March 1859, succeeded to his peerage, as Lord Devon ; and in taking his seat in the House of Lords resigned the Poor Law Secretaryship.

If they do not fill it up, the incoming Government would be *obliged* to give it to the Under-Secretary. I tell you all this, that you may understand precisely how matters stand. But I would rather you would not allude to it in any future letter. I dine with Cockburn (who is to be C. J. of the Queen's Bench, I believe) on Saturday.

Ever yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Lord Clarendon to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR HAYWARD,

June 25, 1859.

Many thanks for your friendly letter. My position is a very satisfactory one to myself, because I am out of office, a free man, and not in the pillory, and feeling nothing but good will towards Lord John for his judicious selection. I am not afraid of *l'imprévu*: it brings wonders to pass, but it will never compel me to form a Government.

You are rather hard on Malmesbury,* who, considering his antecedents and educational defects, has done better than could be expected in a very difficult position. I took his part, as I always am inclined to take that of any one against whom an unfair run upon imperfect evidence is being made; but my praise of his dispatches has been limited to the opinion, that they cleared him of the charge of being so unduly Austrian that he had encouraged the war if he had not absolutely been the cause of it. They are not well written, but they have produced considerable reaction in his favour.

Ever yours faithfully,
CLARENDON.

* Lord Malmesbury was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under Lord Derby's Government.

Mr. Hayward to his Sisters.

8, St. James's Street,
July 7, 1859.

I knew so well how matters stood about the Poor Law Board that I never made any personal application to the Palmerstons ; but he wrote to me on Tuesday, to say he was sorry he could not appoint me, but he was compelled to fill the place from the office. I enclose the Duke of Newcastle's letter. He does not seem to have been so well-informed about the matter, for I was in no sense *disappointed*. Keep it, and let us say no more on the subject. Gilpin's place is Parliamentary, and changes with the Government. I dined yesterday at Lord Londonderry's, and then went to Lansdowne House.

Ever yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Hayward.

11, Downing Street, Whitehall,
MY DEAR HAYWARD, July 8, 1859.

I do not know whether, in the event of a vacancy at the Board of Customs, the state of business there (of which the amount is much diminished owing to reforms of the law) would require a new appointment to be made ; but if I learn that such is the case, I shall be most ready to represent your claims to Lord Palmerston, with whom the appointment would lie.

Believe me,
Sincerely yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

Sir G. C. Lewis to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Kent House,
July 25, 1859.

I am much obliged to you for your notice of my pamphlet* in the *Examiner*, which does more than justice to the author.

My answer to what you say about extradition is this— I believe the system is carried to a great extent among the German States, and to a considerable extent among other Continental States, which have comprehensive extradition treaties, with an obligation to surrender upon the inhibition of a simple *mandat d'arrêt*. The extent to which the system *may* be carried depends mainly upon the wording of the treaties. The expense of verifying the criminal and of sending him home to be tried is small, and opposes no serious obstacle to the working of the system. But if you attempt to try your subjects at home, for crimes committed abroad, you must not only have a police abroad to look after them, but you must bring over the witnesses for the trial. Now this you have, in the first place, no power to do ; and in the next place, if you had, or if they were willing to come, the expenses would be a practical bar.

The foreign jurists who write on extradition give no facts from which the practical operation of the system can be judged.

Yours very truly,
G. C. LEWIS.

* A pamphlet on 'Foreign Jurisdiction and the Extradition of Prisoners.'

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

Farnham, Cavan,
Oct. 20, 1859.

DEAR LADY EMILY,

Your kind invitation has only just reached me here (Lord Farnham's). I shall be most happy to come to Drayton on the 7th November, thereby finishing pleasantly a very pleasant round of visit.

After Lady Molesworth's, Lord St. Germans', and Lord Morley's in the west of England, I crossed the Channel, and have been since at Sir John Young's, Lord Monck's, Osborne's, Lord Stuart de Decies', Lady Listowel's, and Herbert's of Mucross. Oh, what a place is that, in the very centre of all that is most beautiful in the Killarney Lakes! I go on Saturday to Cardwell's at his official residence in the *Phaynix* Park, to stay two or three days, and then recross the Channel for North Wales.

Ireland is greatly improved of late years; but the people are as dirty as ever, and their dress a strange though sometimes picturesque combination.

The other day I saw a handsome girl with naked legs and feet, and a crinoline! With best regards to Sir Robert,


Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Sir Henry Storks to Mr. Hayward.

Palace, Corfu,
Nov. 3, 1859.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

I received with much pleasure your letter. I should have written to you, but I did not know when you were likely to return to London, as Rawlinson (in a few lines he sent me from Constantinople) mentioned that you were junketing at Lady Molesworth's. You seem to have



had a gay summer. I wish I could drop in at the Athenæum, and hear from your own lips all you have seen and done. I am sorry that you have not been abroad and come this way, where you would have had a hearty welcome from Lady Buller and from me. We have rather expected you, as I thought the fine weather might have tempted you to risk the perils of the deep. I am curious to see what happened at Lord Derby's dinner at Liverpool. There is no doubt that they have made way since they were in office in '53, but still they have not made way enough if the Liberal party will only act together. I am surprised at Cardwell's account of the present Cabinet: how it can be a united happy family puzzles me. However, they have much before them to try the metal they are made of.

We are on the eve of great events. I quite agree with you in what you say about Louis Napoleon. All goes to show, that the ultimate object of his revenge—for revenge it is—will be England. I see a good deal of foreigners of all nations, and hear from many more, and they all seem to have made up their minds, that England will be the grand point of attack for the great European Powers; and we certainly have not done our best to be popular or to make friends. I have, however, great confidence in our pluck, in our powers of endurance and resistance, and in our resources. Continental Powers have no money, and it is impossible to carry on the war or bully your neighbours without it. Lady Buller is well, and as charming as ever. I am sorry that the Youngs still regret Corfu. My rebels are and have been pretty quiet, but as Parliament is to meet on the 10th of December, I am looking out for squalls.

Very sincerely yours,

H. STORKS.

Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Knebworth,
Nov. 25, 1859.

Many thanks for your kind note. I have, indeed, recovered my health, and hope with a little care to be better than I have been for some years.

As to politics, it seems to me that the first consideration is in our very comfortless and critical state in relation, not only to France, but to all foreign Powers. The French alliance alienates from us all other friends, while it keeps us in perpetual fear of the enemy in the ally. But how to get out of the alliance is another question.

I have not heard Disraeli's views since Parliament separated, but I shall meet him at the Salisburys' next week.

My best regards to your hosts. Lord H. Vane I believe to be a thoroughly upright politician of the Sir G. Sackville stamp, and her ladyship is as charming as she is accomplished.

Yours very truly,
E. B. L.

CHAPTER II.

1860-1862.

The last twenty-five years of Mr. Hayward's life—Mr. Gladstone and the French Commercial Treaty—The annexation of Savoy to France, state of feeling in Paris—The French treaty, position of the Emperor—Letter from Lord Lansdowne, reminiscences of Mrs. Piozzi—'Essays and Reviews,' "Mrs. Piozzi"—Election anecdote—Sir E. B. Lytton's criticism on "Mrs. Piozzi"—Seizure of the Southern Commissioners—Letter to Lady Emily Peel, experiences of Ireland—Sir E. B. (Lord) Lytton, criticism on Lord Macaulay—The difficulty with America—Effect of Prince Albert's death on Lord Palmerston—Lord Chancellor (Irish) Brewster, the state of Ireland—Letter from Miss A. Lloyd—"King Henry IX." or "King William IV."?—Letters from Mr. Slidell, Confederate Commissioner, recognition of the Confederate States by England—Lord Monck on state of feeling in Canada—Visits to Corfu, Constantinople and Vienna—Lord Palmerston's speech on free trade with Austria, Mr. Hayward's interview with Count Rechberg, letter from Madame Blaze de Bury—Letter to Lord Lansdowne—Letter from Mrs. Grote.

WE now enter upon the last twenty-five years of Mr. Hayward's life. With the accession of his "Peelite" friends to office under Lord Palmerston, his career as an active party man did not cease. To the end, the letters evince that he never for a moment lost his keen interest in the political events occurring around him. If, indeed, his correspondence on political matters becomes

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more rare, this was perhaps mainly owing to the increased closeness of his intimacy with governing men. At one time, a few years hence, in a grave crisis, he was impelled by the old spirit still active within him, to launch out some trenchant articles in the pages of *Fraser*. Ever to the fore he lived, mingling freely with some of "the most distinguished of his contemporaries," collecting information from the highest sources, and retailing it either in correspondence, or in conversation with his friends. Many of his correspondents are men and women whose names are illustrious in the annals of statecraft, diplomacy, society, and letters; and the opinions and information exchanged between them and Mr. Hayward lend a rare interest to this record of his life.

Mr. Hayward's well-known integrity—"his fierce love of truth," as it has been termed—the entire absence from his mind of all thought of self-advancement, and moreover his peculiar habit of advocating the cause he had taken up with a thoroughness and aggressiveness that never yielded an inch to *les convenances*, are characteristics which present themselves to the reader in the course of the correspondence.

His letters, too, reveal up to the very last his extraordinary industry in his literary compositions. They give the impression, that once having conceived a subject to write upon, he became full of it, and poured himself out upon it in letters to his friends, when conversation was impossible, engaging their attention, enlisting their aid, and exacting, indeed, their full agreement with him. Moreover, he spared no labour to clear up any doubtful fact, to settle any vexed question, to expose any untruth.

His enthusiasm to make his *article* or his *essay* complete imparted itself in many instances to his correspondents, and they afforded information which they only could give, and which, but for Mr. Hayward, would perhaps never have been recorded.

To pass to the immediate events of this period (1860-1862), we find that Lord Palmerston's Government was firmly established in power, with the assent of the moderate men of all parties. The Commercial Treaty with France, the abortive Reform Bill of 1860, and the repeal of the Paper Duties were among the questions that attracted discussion at home ; and in the winter of 1861, the death of the Prince Consort cast a shadow over the whole country.

The cession of Savoy to France, the war for Italian independence, the doubtful attitude of the French Emperor, and the civil conflict in America, raised a series of international questions that taxed the vigilance of the Government to the utmost. Of these events the history is still fresh, but some interesting points are elucidated by the comments of Mr. Hayward and his correspondents, many of whom were chief actors in the drama.

In literary work, Mr. Hayward was engaged in editing the autobiography and literary remains of Mrs. Piozzi, better known as Mrs. Thrale, the friend of Samuel Johnson, which was published in the winter of 1860, and soon reached a second edition. His contributions to periodicals were also considerable and widely appreciated.

*Mr. Hayward to Lord Broughton.**

DEAR LORD BROUGHTON, 8, St. James's Street,
Feb. 4, 1860.

Gladstone † has been in bed all day from inflammation in the throat and chest, and it is doubtful whether the Budget can come on on Monday. I saw him on Thursday, when he was strong and confident. He told me that his only difficulty would be to moderate the strength of his convictions as to the propriety of the Treaty ‡ and the resulting changes.

I have little doubt that he intends to imitate what Peel did in 1842, namely, repeal a great many duties and replace them by income tax.

The Cabinet do not seem to have been consulted before the Treaty was made, for many of them disapprove it.

I called on Lord Lyndhurst just now. He does not at all like the present state of things. The Radical supporters of the Government are very angry at ——'s appointment. I think the Government safe notwithstanding. With regards to your family circle,

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Lord Stanhope showed me just now a letter from Guizot, stating that the manufacturing class, the best friends of England hitherto, would be alienated by the Treaty.

* Sir John Cam Hobhouse was raised to the peerage as Lord Broughton in 1851. He died in 1869.

† Chancellor of the Exchequer.

‡ The Treaty of Commerce between France and England, which was negotiated by Michel Chevalier and Cobden, and signed on January 23, 1860.

Mr. Laurence Oliphant to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Geneva, March 30, 1860.

I wish you would post the enclosed to Sir R. Peel, as no letter addressed to him direct reaches him. Will you tell Kinglake that I will write to him in a day or two, but I hear Sir R. is coming here and I want this to catch him first, and the information it contains is also for Kinglake.

Imagine my coming from Paris in the same carriage with the Savoyard deputation.* I could not conceive who my seven stinking, smoking, and snoring companions could be with whom I passed the night, but as we became more confidential in the morning, I found they were the self-elected deputies of Savoy, in high feather at the success of their mission, full of praises of the Emperor and Empress—whose photographs they showed me, presented by themselves, with each man's name and "Souvenir 24 Mars" written on the back in the royal handwriting. They were chiefly editors of newspapers, avocats, and political intriguers, who were making their little game out of the "manifest destiny" of their country; they told me with the greatest naïveté which of their number was to receive offices under the new régime. I do not think Chablais or Faucigny † are by any means annexed yet. In spite of the intrigues of French emissaries and the ignorance and timidity of the population, there is a strong feeling in favour of Switzerland. The antipathy to dismemberment on the part of Northern

* Concerning the cession of Savoy and Nice to the Emperor Napoleon.

† Two districts of Savoy bordering on the Lake of Geneva. By the treaties of 1815 they shared the neutrality of Switzerland; it was proposed that they should now be handed over to the Swiss Confederation, but they were annexed with the rest of Savoy on the same footing as before.

Savoy is all humbug: there is a geographical frontier dividing North and South Savoy, as well as a commercial one rendering their interests different. I had great fun at Bonneville yesterday, the capital of Faucigny. We had a great dinner to celebrate our defeat, for unfortunately the Swiss candidate was beaten in spite of our exertions; but we consumed quantities of champagne, and the more courageous partisans of Switzerland, taking courage from the debate in our Parliament, and the general attitude of the question, pledged themselves to fight the thing to the last against any odds, and ended by wishing to make a demonstration, which, however, I thought it more prudent to dissuade them from, as the whole of the employés are in favour of France, and we should probably have got the worst of it. There is not the least doubt that the peasantry as a body—and I spoke to large groups of them—are opposed to France, but afraid to say so. They are persuaded that the annexation has taken place, that the case is desperate, and that they will only compromise themselves by voting against their new Emperor. The Swiss are very plucky, and prepared to move in the northern provinces on the shortest notice. There is nothing more to be done here, and I am off.

Believe me,
Yours ever,
L. OLIPHANT.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave.

Hôtel du Louvre, Paris,
DEAR LADY WALDEGRAVE, April 5, 1860.

Perhaps you would like to hear a little about the state of things here. I have seen people of all parties: Thiers, Montalembert, Circourt, Beaumont,* Chaubronne,

* Gustave de Beaumont, the biographer of Tocqueville. He was Ambassador in London in 1849.

Kergolay,* &c., and the *idée fixe* seems to be that England is setting up Italy as a rival to France, and that French interests imperatively demand that Italy shall be kept divided. Neither the Emperor nor the people would like war just now, most especially not with England.

In the opinion of the intellectual classes, the Emperor has sunk enormously. They now deny him capacity, civil or military, and say he hesitates because he does not know what to do. But he is stronger than ever in the genuine foundations of his power, with the people and the army.

There seems no doubt at all, that if the Senate or the Corps Législatif got troublesome he would risk another *coup d'état*, and appeal to universal suffrage again with full confidence in the result.

Thiers talks of becoming a candidate at the next election if thirty of his friends will do so too, a number he has no chance of getting for such an experiment.

T. Baring is here. He says the financial world is in a good deal of anxiety, but that there is no fear of a financial crisis for a long time to come. Louis Napoleon's expenses are immense, but he may go on borrowing for years.

Persigny has struck up a *liaison* with Plon-Plon,† and they oppose in concert the scheme of a Muratist dynasty at Naples. You heard, I suppose, of Persigny's writing to Flahault‡ without instructions, to tell him to demand an explanation of the presence of the Orleans princes at the funeral. This is one of many half-mad pranks they tell of him. Plon-Plon has become a *puissance* since his speech.

* Count de Kergolay was senator during the Empire.

† Plon-Plon was the sobriquet of Prince Napoleon, second son of Jerome Napoleon and cousin of the Emperor Napoleon III. He married the Princess Clotilde, sister of the present king of Italy.

‡ Count Flahault was afterwards French Ambassador in London.

The weather has been cold and wet, and the French agriculturists are in great alarm for their crops. Lord Elgin is expected here on Saturday, on which day I start on my return.

Believe me,
Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

8, St. James's Street,
April 8, 1860.
MY DEAR GLADSTONE,

I have just returned from Paris, where I saw some leading people of every party. Kergolay, who is a member of the Committee on the Budget, told me that the manufacturers and ironmasters were in the greatest alarm at the Treaty, and that there was little chance that the time for its coming into full operation would be advanced. I dined with him at their Political Economy Club on Friday, and heard the same story. Trade has been much checked by the vague fear of war, and the weather has been very unfavourable to the *cereal* crops.

The Bourse has been disturbed by the issue of *bons sur le Trésor*, and other temporary causes.

The liberty to talk has placed Louis Napoleon in a dilemma, and may lead to the necessity of another *coup d'état*. At the next election of the *Corps Législatif* its composition will be materially improved. Thiers and Odilon Barrot talk of standing. The Imperial policy is universally discredited, and much of the Imperial *prestige* has vanished.

Mérimée (Senator, and much at the Tuileries) said the troops would soon be withdrawn from Rome. Montalembert thought not, yet he said that the influence of the *parti prêtre* was small. Guizot and Thiers insist that England encourages a United Italy solely to raise up a

rival to France. I do not think the Emperor will provoke or begin a war anywhere.

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Lord Lansdowne to Mr. Hayward.

Lansdowne House, London, W.,

DEAR HAYWARD,

Aug. 18, 1860.

I have delayed for a few days, not only because I have been overwhelmed during that time with "Rifle" letters to be answered, but because I wish to rub up any old recollections that might be of possible use to you, however slight you will find them to be. I did certainly know Madame Piozzi,*but had no habits of acquaintance with her, and she never lived in London to my knowledge.

When in my youth I made a tour in Wales—times when all inns were bad, and all houses hospitable—I put up for a day at her house, and I think in Denbighshire, the proper name of which was Brin, and to which, on the occasion of her marriage, I was told she had recently added the name of Bella. I remember her taking me into her bedroom to show me the floor covered with folios, quartos, and octavos for consultation, and indicating the labour she had gone through in compiling an immense volume she was then publishing, called 'Retrospection.' She was certainly what was called and is still called "blue," and that of deep tint, but good-humoured and lively, though affected. Her husband, a quiet civil man, with his head full of nothing but music.

I afterwards called on her at Bath, where she chiefly resided, and I occasionally frequented, though not so near to Bowood as railroads have since made it. I remember it

* Mr. Hayward had asked Lord Lansdowne's assistance when editing 'The Autobiography of Madame Piozzi.'

was at the time Madame de Staël's 'Delphine' and 'Corinne' came out,* and that we agreed we preferred 'Delphine,' which nobody reads now, to 'Corinne,' which most people read then and a few do still. She rather avoided talking of Johnson.

These are trifles not worth recording, but I have put them down, that you might not think me neglectful of your wishes ; but now, *j'ai vidé mon sac*.

Yours faithfully,

LANSDOWNE.

Mr. Cardwell to Mr. Hayward.

74, Eaton Square,
Nov. 11, 1860.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Your letter was forwarded to me from Dublin,† and I am much obliged to you for it. I saw Lord Palmerston to-day, and he informed me that Sidney Herbert had a telegram from Sir A. Grant, dated 27th October, which led to the conclusion that the war was over. ‡

Everything seems very smooth at present, and liberty has had its own way for once. Garibaldi has won a kingdom almost without a blow, and England has succeeded in her policy without losing a man or spending a shilling.

I have been circulating your volume with the Crimean Essay among the soldiers in Dublin, and I enclose you a note, which one of them wrote me when he returned it—Colonel Hort.§

We have been without a summer in Ireland as else-

* 'Delphine' appeared in 1804, 'Corinne' in 1806.

† Mr. (afterwards Lord) Cardwell was Chief Secretary for Ireland.

‡ On October 26th Garibaldi met Victor Emmanuel on the Volturmo, and saluted him as King of Italy.

§ In his letter to Lord Cardwell, Col. Hort, C.B., wrote: "I return you Mr. Hayward's Essays with many thanks. They are so interesting that I read all of them. With regard to the essay on

where. The potato is deficient, and the wet has interfered with drying the peat for fuel. But the oats have been unusually good, and the rents are well paid. The Poor's-rate will be higher, but there is no alarm.

Brewster * told me he had been at Netherby, and I rejoice that he can report, as you do, so favourably of the Laird. † He seldom reports sanguinely of himself.

Lord Aberdeen is a little better. I shall be curious to see your Piozzi book. The subject is never failing of interest, and it certainly will not lose in your hands. Mrs. Cardwell unites in kind regards with

Yours very truly,

EDWARD CARDWELL.

Lord Lyndhurst to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

George Street,

Jan. 20, 1861.

Many thanks for the *Piozzi* and the accompaniments, which are very amusing. I am *not* charmed with the portrait. There is a smart pertness about it which does not hit my fancy. So *Johnson*, after all, seems to have been attracted more by the table *cloth and table* than by the host and hostess.

Yours faithfully,

LYNDHURST.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Broughton.

DEAR LORD BROUGHTON,

8, St. James's Street,

Feb. 26, 1861.

Osborne, who came yesterday from Ireland, says that the Irish Catholics are furious against the Government,

the Eastern campaign, I think it points out the difficulties we laboured under better than anything that I have read, and that the relations of the French and ourselves are shown by Mr. Hayward in their true colours."

* The Rt. Hon. Abraham Brewster, successively Attorney-General and Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

† Sir James Graham.

both on account of their foreign (anti-papal) policy, and this Turnbull affair.* Lord Castlerosse was saying the same at dinner yesterday. The Derbyites are clearly winning at Cork. It is to be feared that the Irish (so-called) Liberals will be swayed by the same influence in the House of Commons. Luckily, there is no question likely to give them an opportunity of displaying their discontent, and a large section of Conservatives are resolved to support Lord Palmerston. Walpole said to me on Saturday, at Lady Palmerston's, that he hoped he and his friends should be able to keep in Lord Palmerston. There has been a good deal of speculation as to the future government of India lately. Delane mentioned the Duke of Argyll as likely to be selected. But would he leave his wife and children? The Duke of Newcastle's health would probably compel him to refuse. After all, I would rather bet on Lord Elgin.† Lord Lyveden told me just now, that Lord Canning would stay to carry out the meditated changes as to the Legislative Council. If so, he must stay another year at least.

Milman says it is impossible for the Bishops to proceed in any way against the writers of 'Essays and Reviews.'‡ The general opinion seems to be that they should not have set their names to such things whilst

* Mr. W. B. D. Turnbull had been appointed by the Master of the Rolls to the Calendarship of the Foreign State Papers in the month of August 1859. An association, called the "Protestant Alliance," suspecting Mr. Turnbull of Roman Catholic convictions, agitated for his removal, and, much to his regret, the Master of the Rolls accepted Mr. Turnbull's resignation in consequence, in January 1860.

† Lord Elgin succeeded Lord Canning as Governor-General of India.

‡ In the Lower House of Convocation, Dr. Jelf and Dr. Wordsworth brought up the question of 'Essays and Reviews,' published in February 1860.

they continued in the Church or any way attached to the Establishment, and that the Bishops should not have barked unless they were able to bite. The majority (if there is one) against Church Rates will be small.

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Broughton.

DEAR LORD BROUGHTON, 8, St. James's Street,
Feb. 28, 1861.

I have sent by this post the *Review* containing 'Dundonald,'* to show you that I have endeavoured to do him justice, and have made the alteration you suggested.

'Mrs. Piozzi' has succeeded better than I anticipated, but my *errata* list is awkwardly long. The truth is, a habit of carelessness is contracted from periodical writing, which is both hasty and irresponsible.

I have misquoted Pope once, and so has Mrs. Piozzi, uncorrected by me. The printers, too, have contributed their share, especially in Latin. They took upon themselves to alter *Frusta* into *Frustra*, because they found *Frustra* in Croker, and were familiar with the word.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Stirling of Keir to Mr. Hayward.

[EXTRACT.]

MY DEAR HAYWARD, Edinburgh, March 27, 1861.

I am very much obliged to you for all your kindness, and you shall have my speech—a poor equivalent. I was re-elected to day.

I devoted myself entirely—or mainly—to what seems the topic of the day—Palmerston. And although I was

* "Lord Dundonald." *North British Review*, 1860.

not at all Palmerstonian, I had a civil, good-natured, or rather applaudive audience.

Here is an anecdote from the contest for the Falkirk Burghs :—

Questioner. "Will Mr. Merry vote for an alteration of the Decalogue?"

Merry. (Aside to treacherous friend) "What the ——'s that?"

Friend. "Flogging in the Army."

Merry. "I beg to say, if elected I will vote, and indeed I will move, for its total and immediate abolition."

Ever yours truly,

W. STIRLING.

Mr. Hayward to Stirling of Keir.

8, St. James's Street,

April 10, 1861.

MY DEAR STIRLING,

The only letter from Ford* that has yet fallen in my way, *la voilà!* It is a characteristic one, but will hardly do for publication. My *Piozzi* is nearly sold off, and I hope to have a corrected and much improved edition in one volume.

Merivale has been trying to set up Macaulay† in the *Edinburgh* by an article which, though friendly enough in tone, is as full of mistakes and misrepresentations as it can stick. I could cut it to ribbons if I thought fit.

I received the *brochure*‡ from the Duc d'Aumale himself, and have written to him about it. It will damage these blackguards, at all events; and I am

* Richard Ford, who died in September 1858.

† Lord Macaulay died in December 1859.

‡ "Lettre sur l'histoire de France, adressée au Prince Napoléon," by the Duc d'Aumale, which produced a great sensation in Paris. . . . The *brochure* was damaging to the Napoleonic party, and was known to have caused the Emperor the greatest uneasiness." ('Life of the Prince Consort,' v. 310.)

convinced that the memory of their misdeeds ought to be revived at intervals till they are upset.

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Sir E. Bulwer Lytton to Mr. Hayward.

35, St. James's Place,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

April 16, 1861.

Your kind present came to-day very opportunely—for I was seized with influenza last night, and have been a close prisoner all day. And the book was a wonderful relief from Mr. Buckle's 'History of Civilization,' through which I was wandering with amaze to find a man with a reading so various and a mind so misinformed.

I have to thank you for having passed a much more agreeable day than I could have anticipated. You have done your portion of the work extremely well; with all your accustomed lightness of touch. And so far as Mrs. Thrale's * marriage with Piozzi is concerned, I think you have not only vindicated her and Piozzi's memory, but have with great tact shown the impertinence of the hostility her marriage provoked. She was evidently a very vain woman, but her vanity was sensitive, and very much allied to that exactingness of heart which gives charm and character to women. I suspect it was this sensitiveness which made her misunderstood by her children, and induced her to underrate Thrale. It is clear to me that she does underrate him. But it is a great merit in her not to malign and traduce a husband who must have so chilled and so wounded her natural *amour propre*.

In your book she puts me a little in mind of Lady Morgan, but I should judge her to be a much better

* Mr. Thrale was Mrs. Piozzi's first husband.

fellow, more honest and independent. In spite of inaccuracy and occasional slip-slop, she not only evinces great talent, but says some very deep and very wise things. Her wit must have been notable.

I knew as a child the Lutwyches of Bath, so much mentioned in the book. Lutwyche was a bore, and had always in his pocket a *jeu d'esprit* he had just composed—and which was deplorably bad—I can faintly remember one in ridicule of Napoleon desiring the Crown: Lutwyche undertook to prove that he already had two crowns, which ought to satisfy any man—and the two lines on which the proof summed were the following—

“A crown to your hat and a crown to your head,
Why, you would not have three, like the Pope, man.”

I can't conceive a worse epigram.

The Salusburies* of Offley are my neighbours, and I remember one Rev. Mr. Salusbury at Cambridge. Are these the genuine Salusbury stock?—I presume so. Not the Piozzi nephew†—*graft*.

I wonder what that novel called 'Civilisation' can be, which Mrs. P. preferred to 'Tales of my Landlord'? It would be worth reading.

As to her love for Conway‡—it is very strange, but I have found that sort of love very common in old women past eighty, when they are or have been clever. I have some curious letters from a lady of eighty-five, which would be romantic passion if written by a girl of fifteen—but of course there was no harm in them.

* Mrs. Piozzi's maiden name was Salusbury.

† The nephew of Mr. Piozzi had been christened John Salusbury, he was adopted by Mrs. Piozzi, and afterwards became Sir John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury, and succeeded to his aunt's estate at her death.

‡ Mr. A. W. Conway, an actor. He committed suicide in 1828.

I am much flattered by your selecting the motto from St. Stephen's.* I have not yet seen the *Quarterly*.

I shall now try and get Mrs. Piozzi's works—your book has given me a new interest in her.

With repeated thanks,

Truly yours,

E. B. LYTTON.

P.S.—When I first went to Paris, very young, I found Mrs. Lutwyche a widow in the Faubourg St. Germain—boasting much of her acquaintance with the old noblesse, and some of them were to be found nightly at her house. She was very pompous, and then very old.

Lord Clarendon to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

April 22, 1861.

Many thanks for the Bishop's "Charge," and the "Variorum," reading. I am afraid, however, that our Right Rev. friend, like many other *Improvisatori*, is a plagiarist. The real author of the *fly conceit* is the late Lord Salisbury, who used to secrete a good deal of poetical matter of the same kind, and to secure its circulation by stuffing printed copies of his verses into the great-coat pockets of the visitors at Hatfield, and by himself throwing them into all the market-carts. Among other things he wrote his journey to Weymouth, of which I remember—

"Into the 'Antelope' I pop,
And eat my fowl and mutton chop.
Lord, how the folks did stare,
To see me travel in a chaise-and-pair."

In this fragment I think you will recognise the source from which the episcopal impromptu was drawn.

Yours most sincerely,

CLARENDON.

* The motto on the title-page of Mrs. Piozzi's 'Autobiography' runs :

"Welcome, Associate forms, where'er we turn,
Fill, Streatham's Hebe, the Johnsonian urn."

M. Prosper Mérimée to Mr. Hayward.*

52 Rue de Lille, Paris,
2 juillet 1861.

CHER M. HAYWARD,

Je puis être à Londres vers le 10 ou le 12 de ce mois. Si vous pouvez me procurer un billet pour l'Athenæum vous m'obligerez fort. Je descends chez Panizzi, British Museum. Voilà notre session finie, et le roi d'Italie reconnu. Cela fait beaucoup crier nos dévots, et les Orléanistes convertis au Catholicisme ardent depuis peu. On dit que le Pape va mal. Si S. S. avait égard aux vœux qu'on fait pour elle en Italie, où on lui souhaite tous les jours tant d'accidents, je crois qu'elle se déterminerait à émigrer vers un monde meilleur. Ici tout est fort tranquille, mais il me semble que l'opposition a fait quelque progrès dans les conseils généraux et municipaux. C'est un symptôme qu'il ne faudrait pas trop négliger. La grande question c'est de savoir comment on réglera le budget prochain. Il y a quasi-promesse de rétablir le vote par chapitres. Cela est devenu bien nécessaire. Ce qui ne le serait pas moins, c'est la fin sérieuse des crédits extraordinaires. Si ces deux points sont réglés, je pense que tout ira sur des roulettes pour longtemps. Nous sommes d'ailleurs fort pacifiques, et la mort du Sultan† ne paraît pas avoir les conséquences qu'on pouvait craindre. Au contraire, il semble que l'on prenne patience et espérance en voyant une nouvelle figure. Cependant que le Sultan s'appelle Abdul Medjid ou Abdul Aziz l'Empire Ottoman se meurt, et son enterrement ne peut tarder et je crains qu'il ne soit bruyant, surtout si d'ici là, la révolution qui se fait en Russie, s'est achevée sans catastrophe. Tous nos amis vont bien et me chargent de leurs compliments. Je

* The celebrated French historian and writer.

† Sultan Abdul Medjid had just died ; he was succeeded by his brother Abdul Aziz.



viens de passer un mois à Fontainebleau à faire de l'Archéologie avec l'historien de César, qui devient un antiquaire passionné. Adieu, cher M^r Hayward. Mille compliments et amitiés,

PR. MÉRIMÉE.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Lansdowne.

8, St. James's Street,

DEAR LORD LANSDOWNE,

Nov. 14, 1861.

I am very glad to hear from yourself, that your accident has entailed no worse consequences than a temporary confinement to your chair. Mrs. Norton met a somewhat similar one, by pulling a heavy article on her head a few days since, She is ill and out of spirits, but bent on bringing out a poem to be dedicated to you before Xmas.

I hear the Government have been startled by the appearance off Southampton of a *clipper* sent to intercept the Southern Commissioners in an English steamer.* The Palmerstons are in high health and spirits. Oliphant, whom I have just seen, will never recover the use of his left hand.† I dined yesterday with the Duke of Newcastle, who is better in all respects, and no longer in immediate fear for his eyes.

Peel‡ is doing remarkably well. I have just received a letter from Lady Emily describing their tour, and she says the accounts of the failure of the potato crop have been much exaggerated, but the peasantry will suffer from the wetness of the peat and its consequent unfitness for fuel.

* The *Trent*, in which Messrs. Mason and Slidell had embarked for England. The news of their arrest by the Federal man-of-war, *San Jacinto*, had not yet arrived.

† Mr. Laurence Oliphant, whilst Chargé d'Affaires in Japan, was attacked by assassins, and in defending himself was severely wounded.

‡ Sir Robert Peel was Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Opinion is getting round in favour of the Education Minute. I met Lowe at Hampton Court the week before last, and he had no doubts.

Believe me, dear Lord Lansdowne,
Ever gratefully and faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

DEAR LADY EMILY, 8, St. James's Street,
Nov. 15, 1861.

Your letter was full of interest to me, for few people had better opportunities of studying Ireland, having had two Commissions there (in 1847 and 1854),* in the course of which I examined nearly 300 witnesses, from the Duke of Leinster downwards. Perhaps you are not aware that the present local government rests mainly on my Report. So never apologize again for giving me your Irish "notions," as you call them, which read like well-formed and sound conclusions. All parties are agreed in praising Sir Robert's speeches and proceedings, and the Palmerstons are especially well pleased.

The *New* United States are still the main topic, as essentially affecting private dealings and public finance. We were startled yesterday by a report that an American clipper had been despatched to stop the British packet and seize the Southern Commissioners, but the American Minister denies the intention, now that the scheme has failed. This would have led to war at once. The clipper was driven into Southampton by stress of weather. I had a letter from Lady Carnarvon, describing your villa on the Lake of Geneva. She seems to be very happy. The appointment of Fould † is considered

* In 1854 Mr. Hayward had been employed as one of the Dublin Turnpike Commissioners ; in 1847 he had held the inquiry ordered upon the Dublin Improvement Bill.

† The Emperor Napoleon's Minister of Finance.

Macaulay. He is in the transition state of Fame, between the judgment of contemporaries and that of posterity. And during that transition state a great writer obtains a reverence, not shown him while alive, and which another generation will eliminate from the blind superstition that attaches to the Recent Dead.

But the real fact is, that with immense knowledge of books, Macaulay had very little knowledge of the world. He has no discrimination of the delicate and subtle shades of character. His portrait-painting is founded on a bold, but a coarse trick of Art—Take one figure for the foreground, and increase its light by darkening the shadows on all that would otherwise steal the eye from it. He is artistically unfair as well as morally unfair. You quote an excellent instance of this, in the alleged parting scene with Johnson* and poor Mrs. Piozzi. Macaulay's beauty of style, in some things quite unrivalled, excludes many beauties higher and deeper than its own. It has no modesty—it never consents to wear a veil. Thus he never guesses, never suggests; he speaks with audacity, and then brilliantly adorns his own assertion. Perhaps there is no writer in our language who *suggests* so little to a thoughtful or imaginative reader. But his style is so clear and nervous, his dogmas so decided, and put forward with so much heat, that if he is not suggestive to men who wish to think for themselves, he is extremely convincing to men who dislike that trouble. He was really meant for an orator—an advocate; and had he cultivated the oratorical art, in the accessories of delivery and tact of debate, I doubt if he would not have excelled all our past as well as contemporary speakers. His history, his criticism, are both oratorical; and one of the defects in his writings may be traced, perhaps, to a rule of his, which he once

* See Piozzi's 'Autobiography,' 2nd edition, vol. i. 262, *et seq.*

thus announced to me. I was walking home with him from the House after one of his great speeches on Reform and talking to him about it. Apropos to some remark of mine, he said, "This is the great secret of speaking : you must never bore for a moment." But in writing, a fine and subtle thinker must very often consent to bore. Burke bores one awfully at times. It is true, however, of Macaulay's writings, that he never fatigues the attention, and thus he is so eminently popular.

Congratulating you heartily on your new edition, and thanking you for the kindness of your reference to myself,

Believe me truly yours,
E. B. LYTTON.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

8, St. James's Street,
Dec. 8, 1861.

DEAR LADY EMILY,

Many thanks for your letter, which I got at Orwell Park, where I was the whole of the last week. We had politicians enough, for the Duke of Somerset and Stanley of Alderley were there till Friday, and the Duke of Cambridge from Thursday to Saturday.

I think Sir Robert is generally considered to have done well, and I am sure the Palmerstons are very well pleased. I was there yesterday. The American difficulty is the sole topic. Our despatch* assumes not only (as stated in the *Times*) that they will make reparation, but *that the act was done without authority*, and that they will make reparation by repudiating the officer and returning the Commissioners.

At Lord Lyndhurst's, where I called also, we had all

* Lord Russell's despatch of the 30th of November, to Lord Lyons, demanding the release of Messrs. Mason and Slidell.

the great lawyers, the Chancellor, Lord Kingsdown, &c. They are all agreed as to the illegality. The law officers' opinion is an ill-written and confused document, and (I think) misses the real point—which is, whether they may not take their *rebels* as we took our *seamen* in 1812.

The chances of peace and war depend on whether Seward * and his party can hold their ground. The President's message of this day, and the proceedings of Congress, will show their game long before we get an answer to the despatch. The Senate, fortunately, has a voice on questions of peace and war. The Palmerstons return to Broadlands on Thursday, and she asked me to come there before Christmas. I go to Chevening on the 7th. Flahault was at Cambridge House when I was there yesterday, full of French professions of sympathy and agreement. Apponyi† said to a friend of mine: 'Eh bien vous autres Anglais, vous avez reçu un soufflet.'

Ever truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave.

8, St. James's Street,

DEAR LADY WALDEGRAVE,

Dec. 18, 1861.

I am very sorry indeed to hear that Mr. Harcourt has been suffering severely from the effects of an accident. What numbers of saddening accidents are happening at once! The day before yesterday, I found Lord Lyndhurst with the gout in both feet, though in good spirits. Lord Palmerston also has a severe attack. Dr. Ferguson told me just now, that the great difficulty was to prevent him overworking himself.

* Mr. Seward was President Lincoln's Secretary of State, and was in reality American Foreign Minister during the War of Secession.

† Count Rudolph Apponyi, Austrian Ambassador in London.

I feel sure the attack was brought on by the Prince's death. I was dining there on Friday when the bad news arrived, and I never saw him more shaken.* Ferguson says he will be all right very soon. She is well. Mrs. Norton has published a very beautiful poem, called *The Lady of La Garaye*.

Opinions are divided as to the probabilities of peace and war. There is a strong peace party in New York. M'Clellan pressed the President to give up the Commissioners at once. The Duke of Newcastle is not looking well. He is overworked.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Broughton.

8, St. James's Street,

DEAR LORD BROUGHTON,

Dec. 21, 1861.

I perfectly agree in all you say as to the value of Lord Palmerston at this time, and I am glad to find that there is no longer any ground for immediate anxiety on his account. Ferguson declined checking the complaint, which came to a head on Thursday night and caused a good deal of pain. But yesterday morning (as Spencer Cowper, who breakfasted with him, told me) Lord Palmerston had recovered his usual tone and spirits. The gout is now confined to the feet, and will probably not disappear for some days.

Evelyn Ashley† told me yesterday evening that it was not so much the actual work as the anxiety which did harm, and that it was quite impossible to divert Lord Palmerston's mind from the management of affairs.

* "His severest illness for many years was brought on by the death of the Prince Consort, and his fear of its effect on the Queen." ('Lord Palmerston,' by A. Hayward. *Fraser's Magazine*, 1865.)

† The Hon. Evelyn Ashley, the biographer of Lord Palmerston.

There was a belief yesterday that the Americans would give in, but it rests on no authentic ground. If they got the French * Circular in time, it may produce some effect. Barings and other English houses of note have written to request the payment of their balances, and declined opening any new transactions till the uncertainty is cleared up.†

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Stirling of Keir.

8, St. James's Street,
Dec. 23, 1861.

MY DEAR STIRLING,

I am staying in town this week to review Mrs. Norton's poem. Do tell me anything that has struck you. Mere praise won't make an article. I want to say all the good I can, and really think much of it very beautiful. I go to Lord Broughton's on the 28th, and must finish by then.

I was at Cambridge House yesterday. Palmerston can't stand on either foot, but his spirits are good, and he works unceasingly. *They* think the chances of peace small. I do not see how the approval of the Secretary of the Navy is to be got over. He is a member of the Cabinet, and his report was virtually adopted by the President.

General Evans told me yesterday he believed ten thousand regular troops a match for the largest force that could be despatched against Canada—even if their whole (so-called) army was left free.

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

I hear nothing about calling Parliament together.

* France, Austria, and Prussia remonstrated with America upon her action in seizing the Commissioners.

† This is a curious instance of the influences which operate in great international questions.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

DEAR LADY EMILY,

8, St. James's Street,
Jan. 7, 1862.

The Duke of Argyll has just told me, that the Government have heard from Lyons* up to the 26th. He had then no answer.† The French despatch only arrived on the 25th. The final answer is now expected on the 13th. The fear is that they will try to trick us by evasion, and so *drift* into war.

I dined with the Duke of Newcastle at a club, after his return from Windsor. His account of the Queen is highly favourable. He said his private interview left him with the very highest opinion of her strength of character. He says that all the flying stories of the Prince are lies. I have been at 'The Grove' and Tedworth. Your fair cousins were very pleasant. We have no news of Lady Waldegrave, who has returned to Essex. The Palmerstons meant to go to Broadlands to-morrow, had the answer arrived: now they must stay. He says he could mount on horseback, but does not like to begin in town. She told me this on Sunday. I dot down these facts very hastily.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

DEAR LADY EMILY,

8, St. James's Street,
Jan. 10, 1862.

We shall now begin to talk of other topics than America, and I suppose Ireland will come again upon the scene. I heartily wish you success in Coleraine. I believe the Palmerstons leave town to-day. Although

* Lord Lyons was then British Minister at Washington.

† To the demand for the release of Messrs. Slidell and Mason.

the great difficulty is over, minor causes of difference will be constantly arising. I hear that Seward* only gives up the question of form, and assumes that Wilkes had a right to carry the *Trent* into port. If this be so, there may be a long discussion, but there is little fear of their acting on the theory. The general belief is that the Northerners will break down in finance. Bates openly expresses this opinion. Lady Palmerston has called on the Slidells.† She told me the youngest could hardly be called a beauty. The young lady now says that she confronted the lieutenant, to give her mother time to hide the papers in her crinoline. There's a defence for this much-calumniated article of female attire for you! The effect of the affair will be to make Palmerston as safe as a rock.

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. A. Brewster‡ to Mr. Hayward.

Merrion Square,
Jan. 10, 1862.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

When the *Saturday Review* arrived here, my every thought was engrossed by one who has since been taken from us,§ and I neglected many things. I was not, however, allowed much repose by that inexorable task-master the public, and I believe I have reason to be thankful that it was so. I think the friends and relatives of Lady Morgan have reason to be grateful to you, for the cordial and friendly manner in which you illustrated her good points as a woman and an authoress, and the graceful and skilful manner in which you dealt with her

* The Commissioners were released on the 1st of January, and sailed in the 'La Plata' to England, which they reached on the 29th.

† Mrs. Slidell and her daughters had remained on the 'Trent.'

‡ The Right Honourable Abraham Brewster, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

§ The Prince Consort died, Dec. 14, 1861.

foibles and weaknesses. It would have been much easier to have launched a trenchant article like that in the *Times*.*

I am glad to hear you had such an agreeable excursion in the East. Our time in the North was a pleasant one, and our weather magnificent. The vacation seems to have made Lord Palmerston a youth again. That he may long continue so is now the wish of every lover of freedom and old England.

You ask how we get on in Ireland. My answer is, variously—I can't find a more appropriate word. The opposite factions hate each other very much, but hypocritically pretend that they entertain sentiments of great regard and esteem. In a word, there was never more false and dishonest pretence anywhere, or more self-seeking. In the South and West there is a deeply-rooted, and I fear organised, disloyalty to all law and government, but especially towards England, its people and rulers. This is to a certain extent, perhaps, chiefly attributable to Popery, but must also be considerably aggravated by the progress of events and the steady advance which civilisation is making in the midst of them. The small landholders lay all their grievances at the landlord's door. They feel and see that a steady process of extermination goes on ceaselessly, and they are told by those they trust and look up to, that if they could obtain perpetual interests in their patches of sand, all would be right with them. This is a delusion. Their fate was sealed when farming became a manufacture requiring capital, skill, knowledge, and intelligence, coupled with thrift; and if those who are not only very poor, but the slaves of ignorance, had their bits of farm in fee-simple, they must sink at no very distant period. It cannot excite much surprise that they should

* Mr. Hayward had reviewed 'Lady Morgan's Memoirs,' in the *Saturday Review*.

struggle hard to avert their doom, and resort to the most extreme courses to prolong their own existence. Add to this the effect of three very bad harvests in succession, present want of the bare necessaries of life in many places, and a fear of it in all, and you can easily picture to yourself the uneasy state of the body politic. I surmise (for none but the initiated and the Government have the means of knowing) that our cousin Jonathan has found means to fan the flame, and that the enemies of England in Ireland have reason to expect something beyond sympathy from the other side of the Atlantic. This is my view of a great portion of this kingdom, as to its political state. Osborne is not far astray in thinking that no Ministerial candidate will have much chance at a General Election in a country where there is no public opinion, and where affairs have been so managed, that whilst the Imperial policy necessarily estranged three-fourths of the Irish people from the Ministry, no steps were taken to obtain the support of those who approve of that policy. A small clique here, desirous to keep all the good things in their own narrow circle, has endeavoured to inculcate the notion, that nothing could be done with those who do concur in our Foreign policy. I do not believe this, but I am convinced, that those who profess that opinion could do nothing with people whose main objection to the Government is that the clique* I allude to represent it in Ireland. It seems passing strange that one so sagacious as Lord Palmerston, and who knows Ireland so well, should have allowed himself to be left without any supporters in a country where nearly all the educated, and nine-tenths of the proprietors, warmly admire him, wish him well, and approve of his policy. They will, however, send persons to represent them who will not lift a hand to help, though they may be reluctant to strike him. After

* Brady and Co.

all I have said, you will be surprised at my adding, that there is hardly any crime in the land. In my county there was not one gaol-bird for trial at the Sessions now being holden, and only four persons on bail.

Having now, I guess, surfeited you of Ireland, I conclude by wishing you many happy returns of this season, and am

Faithfully yours,
A. BREWSTER.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Broughton.

DEAR LORD BROUGHTON,

Broadlands,
Jan. 20, 1862.

I came here on Friday, and found Lord Palmerston better than he has been for the last twelve months. He was out shooting on Friday, and shoots again to-morrow.

To-day, he walked for an hour at a good pace with Sir J. Milbanke and me. I have played billiards with him two evenings, and he plays better than he did. The next Session seems to give no one the least uneasiness. Azeglio,* who is here, is still hoping to get the French out of Rome. Seward has written to Peabody and Adams, to deny the alleged conversation between him and the Duke of Newcastle; but I have not the slightest doubt of the Duke's accuracy, and Lord Elgin says that Seward used similar language to him. Adams told me that nothing had annoyed the American Government more than the report of this conversation. I hope you are coming to town very shortly. I went on board the *Nashville* yesterday—she is a passenger steamer, quite unfit for fighting.†

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

* Marquis d'Azeglio, President of the Council at Turin before Count Cavour. Author of 'Ettore Fieramosca.'

† The 'Nashville' was a Confederate privateer.

Lord Clarendon to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR HAYWARD,

The Grove,
Jan. 31, 1862.

Thanks for your letter, which I was particularly glad to get, as reports about Palmerston's "failing health" have been in active circulation—the wish probably being father to the thought in the Tory camp. The last canard was that he could keep nothing on his stomach, but as P. is not a man to work hard for such a *return* as that, it's pleasant to know that his appetite is as ever.

I am glad, too, that he has seen the Queen, for it was high time, and a bad impression would have been produced if he had returned to London for the Session without having been to Osborne; but the green gloves and the blue studs are charmingly characteristic—they will not have been unobserved, *or* set down to the credit side of his account.*

I hope Delane is right about government legislation, for if the pernicious practice is abstained from for two or three years more, the country will take such a spring that its best friends won't know it again.

Ever truly yours,

CLARENDON.

Miss Angharad Lloyd† to Mr Hayward.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

Rhyl, Flintshire,
March 20, 1862.

How we apples swim! Nothing could exceed my *astonishment* to receive another set of *charming* Mrs. Piozzi, than the manner in which I am mixed up with names of those who really have contributed anecdotes.

* Lord Palmerston, going for the first time to see the Queen after the death of the Prince Consort, strangely enough neglected to put on mourning.

† In the preface to the second edition of Mrs. Piozzi's 'Autobiography,' Mr. Hayward acknowledges the aid he had received from Miss Lloyd in preparing the work.

Accept my grateful thanks for the gift and *compliment*, which should have been sent sooner had I not been *hoping* to show Mrs. Rowley* the extracts you wished to have, hearing that she was in London; I will not delay another day to send them. I also have in a fly-leaf of *Junius* an interesting anecdote which you shall see, when you next visit us, transcribed out of a fly-leaf in an old duodecimo volume entitled "A brief review of the state of the Church of England, as it stood, in Queen Elizabeth's, and King James's reign to the yeere 1608" "written for the private use of Prince Henry upon occasion of that Proverb—"

"Henry the Eighth pull'd down monks and cells,
Henry the Ninth will pull down bishops and bells,
—by Sir John Harrington, of Kelston, nere Bath, Knight."

The late King William honoured my dear sister Helen Lloyd † with his friendship and confidential intimacy, from the time of her first introduction to him, when Duke of Clarence, to the day of his death. A very few days after the death of George IV. Helen met him at the house of Lady Sophia Sidney, with whom she was staying on a visit. She had heard him express a strong preference to his second name, that of Henry, and says that as medals had been struck, giving to Cardinal York the title of Henry the Ninth, he wished to assume his undoubted right to that name. My sister familiarly asked him whether he was to be proclaimed "King Henry," or "King William"? "Helen Lloyd," he replied, "that question has been the subject of a discussion in the Privy Council, and has been decided in favour of King William." His Majesty added, "that the decision had been mainly influenced by an old

* Mr. Hayward's friend, Mrs. Rowley, the daughter of Lieut.-Col. Shipley, and wife of the Hon. R. T. Rowley.

† Governess to the Duke of Clarence's younger daughters.

prophecy, (the existence of which he seemed not to have been previously aware of) to the effect, that as Henry the Eighth had pulled down "monks and cells"—Henry the Ninth would pull down "bishops and bells." My sister exclaimed, "I have seen those lines in an old book at home." The King was very much astonished, commanded her to send for it as soon as possible; diligent search was made for the book, but unhappily it was not found in His Majesty's lifetime. On the removal, however, of the family establishment from Caenys to Ty-yn in Rhyl in the year 1844, and after the death of our much-respected sister, this book confirming the above-mentioned circumstance was discovered by me.

ANGHARAD LLOYD.

When Mr. Hayward was in Paris, in the early summer of this year, he became acquainted with Mr. Slidell, the Confederate envoy at Paris. After his return to London, Mr. Slidell wrote to Mr. Hayward on the question of England's recognition of the Confederate States: no doubt with the hope, that in doing so he would gain an advocate of his views with Lord Palmerston.

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Hayward.

37, Champs Elysées, Paris,

MY DEAR SIR,

June 13, 1862.

I was very much obliged to you for your letter of 14th ult., and pleased to hear that you had submitted my letter to Lord Palmerston. I hope that he read it, as it presented a perfectly frank exposition of my views and opinions, and the events that have since occurred have all tended to confirm them.

If you read the French papers you will have found

that all the semi-official journals have warmly espoused our cause, and advocate mediation.

I hope that you will not consider me indiscreet in asking for such information of the intentions of your Government as you may think proper to communicate.

Anything that you may say on the subject will, if you wish it, be considered entirely confidential.

It is not from mere curiosity that I desire the information: it may influence my action here.

I decided some weeks since that, on the receipt of intelligence of decided successes near Richmond or Corinth, I would make a formal demand for recognition. This is still my purpose, but the mode and time might be somewhat modified by the knowledge of the feelings of your Ministry.

Very faithfully yours,
JOHN SLIDELL.

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Hayward.

25, Avenue d'Antin, Paris,

MY DEAR SIR,

August 8, 1862.

I am very much obliged for your kind recollection of 2nd August. I am neither surprised nor disappointed at the decision of your Government, for I had long since made up my mind that, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, your Ministry consider the indefinite continuance of the war advantageous to British interests.* Perhaps other Powers may not take the same view of its effects on themselves.

Should our Government have been recognised before you return from Constantinople, I hope to have the

* On the 2nd of August, Mr. Mason, Mr. Slidell's colleague in London, applied to the Government for recognition of the Confederate States as an independent power. Lord John Russell courteously declined the application.

pleasure of seeing you here on your way to London ; if not, I shall be on the road to Italy with my family.

Very truly yours,

JOHN SLIDELL.

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Hayward.

19, Rue de Marignan, Paris,

MY DEAR SIR,

Oct. 30, 1862.

I am very much obliged to you for your favour of the 24th inst., the contents of which neither surprised nor disappointed me. I infer from what you say, that the solution of the enigma of the action of your Government which I ventured to give when I last had the pleasure to see you is the true one. Every Government should pursue the policy which is best calculated to promote the interests which it represents ; the only question is whether it appreciates them justly, and an interested observer, such as I freely admit myself to be, has no right to question its judgment. But there is a point on which I confess that I am sensitive. I am like Don Basil in Beaumarchais' famous comedy,* and ask myself "*qui trompe-t-on ici ?*" Who is the dupe ? This is a rôle which is not palatable to me, especially as no well-filled purse is offered to induce me to shut my eyes. Your people all say, that the Emperor has made no overtures to you on our question—every one here tells me that he has. Whom am I to believe ? I will not venture to say to you on which side my conviction lies, because it would impugn the truthfulness of persons for whom you entertain great—and, as I am willing to admit—deserved respect.

One thing is certain : there is gross misrepresentation on one side or the other. The Emperor favoured me with a long audience on Tuesday ; he told me that he had

* 'Le Barbier de Séville.'

very recently seen Lord Cowley ; perhaps the embroglio may then have had its dénouement.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN SLIDELL.

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Hayward.

19, Rue de Marignan, Paris,
Nov. 8, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have not replied sooner to yours of 1st inst., because I wished to be entirely satisfied that formal official overtures had been made to your Government for action on American affairs. This assurance I now have from a source I am not at liberty to mention, but which is entirely reliable. A Circular note was addressed on Saturday last to all the European Powers. I have reason to believe that the suggestion is to propose to the belligerents an armistice for six months, with the Southern ports open. You will now not have the responsibility of proposing, but you certainly will have that of any consequences which may flow from your refusal to co-operate with other Powers.

I am happy to say, that my daughter's health is so much improved that Mrs. S. has abandoned the idea of a visit to Brighton.

Very faithfully yours,
JOHN SLIDELL.

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Hayward.

19, Rue de Marignan, Paris,
Nov. 12, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have your two letters. I probably expressed myself inaccurately in speaking of the Circular—I believe that the letters to London and St. Petersburg differed in form from those to the other Powers. I still feel confident that the letter to London left here eight or ten days

I have no means of judging of the loyal feelings of Montreal, except by the reception the inhabitants gave about three weeks since to the present unworthy representative of Her Majesty in this Province, and which left nothing to be desired as far as demonstration of feeling is concerned.

Amongst the functions to which I fell a victim on that occasion was the duty of distributing prizes to the young ladies of one of the Colonial schools. I was perched on a sort of throne with about three or four hundred people about me, and thus tied to the stake, had inflicted upon me by the authoress (a remarkably pretty girl, by the way) a poetic effusion in my own eulogy, in which I was apostrophized as "proud Erin's peer." I never felt so like a fool in my life.

They gave me a most capital public dinner—I think the best arranged and served public entertainment I ever saw—and in return I gave them a piece of my mind on the incidence of the cost of Colonial defence, which has given great opportunity for newspaper-writing through the Province.

I expect Maurice Wingfield here next month : he wrote to me some time since that he was coming.

Quebec is reached with much less labour and trouble than Constantinople, and I shall certainly not forgive you if you do not pay me a visit here at some future time. Have you heard anything of J. Young? I wrote to him before I left England, but have had no answer from him.

The American scuffle is dragging on, and, as it appears to me, presents no prospect of ending until both parties give up from exhaustion.

Numbers of our officers have been with the Federal force from time to time, and some actually with the army of McClellan during the late battles on the James river. The account they give is substantially that which has been published in the Northern papers.

Pray remember me to all "enquiring friends," and believe me

Yours most truly,
MONCK.

This autumn Mr. Hayward made a tour on the Continent, visiting some of his old friends by the way. In his letter to Sir George Cornwall Lewis, he gives a short and interesting account of his visits.

Mr. Hayward to Sir G. C. Lewis, Bart.

The Palace, Corfu,
Sept. 19, 1862.

MY DEAR LEWIS,

I am here with Storks. The Ionians are now quiet, and only mutter discontent enough to keep up the steam. Not so the Greeks of actual Greece. Scarlett * told me they were ripe for a revolution, when their spirits were suddenly damped by Garibaldi's failure. They dream of founding a Greek empire on the ruins of the Turkish, and have not industry or enterprise to make a railroad from the Piræus, or a good road of any sort. The Acropolis is the most glorious of ruins, far, far beyond the Coliseum or anything in Rome. The modern Athens is a second-rate English watering-place.

At Constantinople I lived with the Bulwers,† and saw everything to the best advantage. All *without* in the way of view is splendid; all (or almost all) *within* is mean, tawdry, and dirty. Our loans and efforts to set up Turkish finance were the subject of ridicule to all. What signify the resources of a country, when indolence

* The Hon. Peter Campbell Scarlett was British Minister at Florence.

† Sir Henry Bulwer, afterwards Lord Dalling, was British Ambassador at Constantinople.

and corruption reign throughout? I rode round the whole city outside the walls : not a sign of cultivation, dry plains and mountains covered with forests of tombs. Some individual Turks are men of talent and knowledge, but the Sultan is as absolute as at any period. His lightest caprice is law, and he must have some expensive caprices, for he spends on his establishments and himself two-and-a-half millions sterling a year.

I was very much struck with the Grand Vizier and Foreign Secretary, Fuad Pasha and Aali Pasha, who dined with us one day, and who drank wine, and talked (in perfect French) like cultivated Europeans. Fuad had a great deal of Palmerstonian fun, and came out capitally on the subject of marriage. The Sultanas' reading is confined to French novels, and their morals must be odd. I do not know whether they are flung into the Bosphorus, but some of them do their best to merit it. One of them told Lady Bulwer she should take *La Dame aux Camélias* for her model, and on Lady Bulwer shaking her head, exclaimed, *Quoi, elle non bonne femme ?*

Bulwer managed the Servian business with great ability, and does well a great deal of work. I do not believe a syllable of the stories that have reached England concerning him. He and his wife are on the best possible understanding—like Lord and Lady Palmerston, or you and Lady Theresa.

At Vienna I had also a long interview with Count Rechberg* (Foreign Sec.), he expounded his views on all subjects, from Garibaldi to free trade. He struck me as a clear-headed man, with broad and just views. I also passed a day with the Motleys at their villa, and found him more unreasonable than ever, vowing that the restoration of the Union in its entirety was "as sure as

* Count Rechberg was head of the Austrian Government. As the friend of Madame de Bury, he received Mr. Hayward with great cordiality and frankness.

the sun in Heaven." On my way down the Danube I was in the thick of Wallachian and Moldavian Counts and Countesses returning from the German baths : most amusing companions, and very sociable. I was the only Englishman, and the conversation was a mixture of German, French, and Italian, to say nothing of Danubian and other dialects. I also struck up a friendship with a young and good-looking Russian couple—Prince and Princess Bagration, on their way to their Georgian principality. They are coming to England next spring and will make a sensation : for she is pretty, and not more than nineteen or twenty ; he, young and very gentleman-like. I shall certainly bring them to Kent House.

Eber is here, having been stopped by Omar Pacha on his way to Belgrade. Storcks sent a yacht for him to the Albanian coast, and he is now going on to Constantinople. Omar handsomely offered to let him go on receiving a pledge, that nothing published in the *Times* should be used to the detriment of Turkey.

This is a charming place as regards climate and scenery. I shall go to Ancona next week, and home through Milan and Turin. I hope to be in London about the end of October. With best regards to Lady Theresa,

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

"Of late years Lord Palmerston had so much writing to get through that he had neither time nor eyesight to spare for books. Even his newspaper reading was limited. The stores of information he accumulated and opportunely applied were mostly derived from oral sources : from an admiral, general or governor, just returned from a foreign station ; from a diplomatist on his transit from one capital to another ; from an intelligent traveller or a well-informed foreigner. The facts

he got from them were carefully packed away in a corner of his mind till wanted, and always came out wonderfully well-sorted and fresh."

"In the autumn of 1862 he was riding into Southampton with Mr. Cowper [now Lord Mount-Temple,] when he heard that an Austrian of distinction was there on a sort of free-trade mission, and was about to explain his views at a public dinner. Lord Palmerston attended the dinner, and made a speech, in which he astonished everybody by his familiarity with the subject, and with the position of the Austrian Government in relation to it: that familiarity being exclusively based on the report of a conversation with Count de Rechberg repeated to him a few days before."*

At this date the Austrian Government were anxious to be on friendly terms with England, and even as an earnest of good will, to negotiate a Treaty of Commerce. In his interview with Mr. Hayward, Count Rechberg had fully enlightened him with the views of the Austrian Government. So that when later Mr. Hayward was visiting at Broadlands, he was able to impart the Austrian Premier's views to Lord Palmerston. Acting entirely upon what Mr. Hayward told him, Lord Palmerston adopted the course already described. This speech opened and smoothed the way for the negotiations which, shortly after his death, resulted in the commercial treaty between Great Britain and Austria. †

* "Lord Palmerston," by A. Hayward. *Fraser's Magazine*, November 1865.

† A treaty, the effect of which was expressed by Lord John Russell to Mr. Somerset Beaumont, who conducted the real (not formal) negotiations, in these words: "You, and you alone, have scaled the fortress of Austrian protection." (Private MSS.)

*Madame Blaze de Bury * to Mr. Hayward.*

Paris, Nov, 3, 1862.

Thanks, dear Mr. Hayward, many and sincere!

— and I both agree that the Southampton speech was *your* doing, entirely! Now, on *your* side of the water you don't know the *dessous des cartes* of the whole business. I do, and it is so amusing a one that were I to tell it you, I would make you ill with laughter; suffice it to say, that *you* had rendered an *enormous* service to all parties, for you have put into Lord Palmerston's mouth what will largely help to make the grandest commercial treaty that ever was, inevitable; and you have personally assured a superiority of position to Lord Palmerston that he might not have had if he had not at once *nailed* his visitor to the Treaty.

You can't know of what use your explanation of Count Rechberg to Lord Palmerston has been.

When I *see* you I'll explain to you the whole. It is a very choice bit of contemporary political history, and the service *you* have done to the *greatest cause* of the time, and to the greatest commercial interest England has, is incalculable.

Yours ever faithfully,
and obliged,
R. DE BURY.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Lansdowne.

8, St. James's Street,
Nov. 10, 1862.

DEAR LORD LANSDOWNE,

I have just been calling on Lady Palmerston, where I

* Madame de Bury was on terms of close friendship with Count Rechberg, and in furthering his policy towards England had the personal good will of the Emperor Francis Joseph. Count Rechberg wrote to Madame de Bury, thanking her for having sent Mr. Hayward to him. Mr. Somerset Beaumont was also introduced to Count Rechberg and other Ministers by Madame de Bury. (Private MSS.)

found the Bernstorffs * and Brougham, who said he was in capital voice yesterday, the proof of which was the compliment to him in the *Times*, which was meant for Lord Palmerston. But we did not undeceive him.

I had a letter from Slidell stating that a Circular had been addressed by the French Government to all the European Powers, proposing to propose an armistice, &c. He says this Circular was sent on Saturday, the 1st. But yesterday evening most of the Cabinet knew nothing of it, Lewis amongst the number, and Bernstorff told me he did not believe it had been sent, though he believed intended. I do not think our Cabinet would join.

I am writing an article on Gentz. Did you ever see anything of him? You are always so kind, that I trouble you on any literary matter without ceremony.

I sat some time with Lord Lyndhurst yesterday. His mind is as vigorous as ever, but he complains of his eyes.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mrs. Grote to Mr. Hayward.

Nov. 11, 1862.

I am glad you are to "do" my book.† The "Rich and Poor" is indeed a close, logical dissection of the humanitarian talk and doctrine. You must endeavour to draw attention to the fact that everybody is now striving at *remedies* for an evil which, nevertheless, they persist in affirming does not exist, viz. that we are overpeopled; and point attention to the circumstances that, whilst no

* Prussian Minister in London.

† 'Collected Papers,' by Mrs. Grote. "The Case of the Poor against the Rich fairly considered by a Mutual Friend," was one of these papers. It was really a review of Monsieur Léon Faucher's 'Études sur l'Angleterre.'

country *can* be too well supplied with young, vigorous men, yet for every *one* of this class we have half-a-dozen of women and children to maintain.

After the population question, perhaps the most interesting topic to notice is the Eastern Question.* Its resemblance to the Roman Question, so far forth as the efforts made by a powerful state to countervail strong and perennial currents of social causes, are similar in both cases, and ought to be kept before the eyes of the British public. But I despair of any influences being set a-going against these which Lord Palmerston has so long played off, in order to bamboozle this country about the Turks. His singular success, in always putting himself at the head of a column of English "foibles," will carry him through to the end of *his* career, though I am certain this policy will not take his successor on one single stage further.

Ever yours truly,
H. GROTE.


* "The War from an Unpopular Point of View." Another paper written in 1855.

CHAPTER III.

1863-1865.

Current political events, death of old friends, literary work—Turkish affairs, Servia and Turkey, the Christian populations—Death of Lord Lansdowne—Letter from Sir G. C. Lewis, and his death—Letter from Lady Theresa Lewis—Death of the Duke of Newcastle—Letter from Lord Clarendon—Mr. Disraeli and Parliamentary Reform—Death of Mr. C. Greville, state of Ireland—Visit to Madrid—Death of Lord Palmerston—Letter to Lord Lytton, sketch of Lord Palmerston in *Fraser*—Letter from Mrs. Grote, review of the 'Berry Memoirs'—Letter to Don M. Zarco del Valle—Letter from Mr. Graham Dunlop, state of affairs in Spain.

In MR. HAYWARD'S correspondence during the years 1863-1865 there are a number of allusions to such important matters as the cession of the Ionian Islands, the attitude of the Government towards the Polish insurrection, and the Schleswig-Holstein war; but the chief interest of it consists in the views, expressed by well-qualified judges, upon some problems of permanent importance that are still unsettled; thus, the opinions of Lord Dalling concerning the Eastern Question have lost none of their force; Lady Clanricarde's account of the state of Ireland is unfortunately not obsolete; nor has time as yet disproved the correctness of Mr. Dunlop's forecast of the future in Spain. About this time, death



laid his hand upon many of Mr. Hayward's oldest and best friends ; among them were Lord Lansdowne, whom he had known since his first appearance in London society ; Sir George and Lady Theresa Lewis, to whom he was sincerely attached ; the Duke of Newcastle, whose cause he had so often made his own ; and Lord Palmerston, Prime Minister of England to the last. Mr. Hayward's critical reviews, sometimes perhaps more valuable than the original works themselves, biographical notices, political dissertations, followed each other with astonishing rapidity in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*, *Fraser's Magazine*, the *Saturday Review*, and the *Times*. 'The Diary of a Lady of Quality' was the only work on a larger scale which he took in hand ; but to edit it was a task, as he himself says, of considerable difficulty, and the wonder is that he found time to undertake it at all.

Mr. Hayward to Stirling of Keir.

8, St. James's Street,

MY DEAR STIRLING,

Jan. 1, 1863.

The pheasants have come to hand, and I have selfishly dressed one for my own breakfast. I hope the rest will be eaten by the *société** to-morrow or Sunday, for I go to Clumber on Monday.

Lord Palmerston had a bad cold, but in other respects was well and in good spirits. He told me that the Emperor was very much discomposed by the English treatment of the Congress proposal.† He did not appear to apprehend war.

* The term applied to Mr. Hayward and his friends, who regularly met at the Athenæum.

† To settle the questions between the Northern and Southern American States.

The Derbyites threaten great things in the way of turning out, but they have not got their question yet. Lord Palmerston won't go out without a dissolution.

I dine with Mrs. Marlay to-day.

Every truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Stirling of Keir.

MY DEAR STIRLING,

Broadlands, Jan. 22, 1863.

I send you a copy of my article on Gentz,* *partially* restored. I sent it to — with an intimation, that it would not bear clipping, and that I considered myself more than ordinarily responsible, having been in communication with Baron Prokesch, Fanny Ellsler, Mrs. Grote, Lord Stanhope, &c. &c. The sentences he has added towards the end are ill-written, and have nothing to do with the subject. I moreover believe the British press to be the very reverse of independent.

There are to be no peerages; at least, none are yet meditated

The article on the *New Babylon* was mine. I have taken recently to writing literary notices, and have just sent one on Van de Weyer's† *brochure* against Cobden.

Kinnaird' and Admiral Hope are here. I stay till Monday. The Palmerstons go up on the 27th for good. He was out shooting yesterday, and plays billiards every night.

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

* "Frederic von Gentz;" 'Selected Essays,' by A. Hayward. 2 vols. (Longmans.)

† 'Cobden, Roi des Belges.'

Sir Henry Storks to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Palace, Corfu,
Jan. 15, 1863.

Thanks for your letter, received yesterday. All you say about the cession of *my dominions* is correct, and I dare say some time will elapse before Greek affairs are brought to a satisfactory termination. The Alfred fever* still continues in Greece, and the Greeks have shown a pertinacity in clinging to their hopes which is difficult to describe. I am informed that they still talk of sending a deputation to England from the National Assembly, to offer the Crown to Prince Alfred ; but the Provinces are beginning to give notice, that it is desirable to get the country under a settled and permanent government. There is no enthusiasm in Greece about the cession of the Islands, nor any real pleasure expressed at the prospect of union by the Ionians. Perfect tranquillity everywhere prevails.

You will have seen, ere this, the changes at Constantinople. It has been a perfect Ministerial revolution, and seems to have ejected from power men who were thought immovable—Mehemet Ali Pasha for example. Bulwer has returned to Constantinople, much improved in health, I am told, by his trip to Egypt. He will find plenty to do at his post. He will be surprised, and not well pleased, I imagine, at the retirement of Fuad.

I read with much pleasure your account of the Duke of Newcastle. I heard that he was suffering from suppressed gout. I should be much concerned if he were obliged to retire, not only on his account but on mine, for he has always been to me a most excellent master and kind and loyal friend.

* In October, 1862, King Otho of Greece had abdicated, and the Greeks were anxious that Prince Alfred of England (H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh) should accept the Crown.

I am glad to have good accounts of Lord Palmerston. I trust they will weather the Parliamentary storm, which the other side must raise about Foreign Policy and retrenchment.

Baring, who has been away shooting for a few days, is resigned to his fate, and has ordered a sea-kit to be ready for the 10-gun brig. He sends "mille choses" to you.

Remember me to all friends. I still look forward to our dining together at the Athenæum, but if my *dethronement* be delayed or averted, I shall hope to see you here again in the course of this year. Nobody will be more warmly welcomed by,

My dear Hayward,

Yours very sincerely,

H. D. STORKS.

Sir Henry Bulwer to Mr. Hayward.*

Not dated, but probably

January 1863.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Many, many thanks for your book, which will give me many a pleasant evening.

I came back just to set a most confused state of things right. Nothing could be simpler. The old story of all parties being in the wrong: the insiders not choosing to explain themselves; the outsiders understanding nothing of the matter. I had full exemplification of the fact, that first-rate men in jog-trot times lose their heads when circumstances overtop them.

The Sultan *never* mad; but wishing to re-make his empire in a week that of Solyman the Great; angry with some of his Ministers for real faults, but not

* Afterwards Lord Dalling, and at this time British Ambassador at Constantinople.

appreciating that, upon the whole, their merits at the moment were greater than their defects. *Amour propre* on all sides wounded. I had a difficult thirty hours, but managed to bring things back round a corner which led to a declivity.

What do people say about Ionian Islands? I am a *non-giving-up* man. A fact of this kind is not an isolated one: each act has a tendency. The tendency to resign empire is a dangerous one for an empire to fall into. But if a people wish to get out of your hands, and public opinion is not for keeping them, a Minister in what is called, and is, a free country can have no policy of his own in the matter.

The feeling you describe about Turkey is not an unnatural one. When people knew nothing of it, they had a sort of admiration for it. Now they know as much as they can pick up at Pera and from a Greek Dragoman. But these critics criticise on false principles—

1. They don't know the Turks.
2. They don't consider that their ideas have a different basis from ours.
3. They expect them in 25 years to become a civilised, well-governed nation, according to their own notions of government and civilisation; and, lastly, they don't take into account that the whole of the Turkish people are as one man, and that their fighting power, *quoad* the races they are intermingled with, are those of wolves or dogs amidst sheep. The Southernns beat the Northernns in America because they have the habit of command. The same fact applies more strongly here to the Mahometans and Christians. But all our policy is comprised in a few words. There is no race settled in these countries who can govern if the Turks can't, and we are not at present prepared to have any foreign race govern here.

I delighted in my three months' trip. To visit Thebes is the settlement of floating thoughts. You see the germ of every tree that has since grown.

Here I am again, with interminable small affairs taking up all one's time, and great ones occupying all one's thoughts. I should like returning to England and English affairs, but not as a knight who had his spurs knocked off. Tell me something of things at home, and promise another visit to the Bosphorus.

I have, since my return, such an avalanche of papers on my head that I have hardly been able to use my eyes. My first care, when I can, will be to read Gentz. Prokesch* flourishes, giving later balls and making interminable harangues. But he is a clever man, with a good deal of learning here and there, and a great nature.

My correspondence with Layard † is a great comfort. He knows the place, and sees things in a large sense. Lowe is too clever a man to talk as I hear he does, if he had not come to get up a case.

But, mind you, though I support this empire as the *connu*, better than any of the *inconnus* I see at present in the obscurity of future events, it is with no enthusiasm for its intrinsic merits, and no firm belief (though not altogether without some hopes) as to its ultimate results. This is a long chapter. My letters must be very stupid but to write them shows I sacrifice my vanity to my friendship.

Yours ever,
H. L. B.

* Baron von Prokesch, Representative of Austria at the Porte, and had been the constant companion of Gentz. (*Vide* Essay, p. 77.)

† The Rt. Hon. Austen H. Layard, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,

Sir Henry Bulwer to Mr. Hayward.

[EXTRACT.]

MY DEAR HAYWARD, Cairo,
April 29, (probably) 1863.

I have been again over the Canal,* which in my opinion will, to a certain extent, be made. I am not for opposing the Canal itself; it is not the *rôle* of England; but I am for opposing openly, fairly, and firmly, those things about it which give up Egypt and the ports in the Mediterranean and Red Sea to French hands.

Egypt is in fact India, and I don't think we should even admit that Turkey could materially alter the condition of Egypt without our assent.

If we continue following the policy of never daring, we shall sink little by little into the position of a man whom everybody knows it is safe to bully or insult.

I don't really care about the East, save when English interests are combined with it, and I am then for maintaining those interests, where they are vital—*coûte que coûte*.

Yours ever most sincerely,
H. B.

I return in a day or two to Constantinople.

Sir Henry Bulwer to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD, Constantinople,
July 12, 1863.

I read the very clever paper† you sent me, as I do all that comes from your pen, with both instruction and

* The Suez Canal.

† A pamphlet on Crimean questions, by an Old Reviewer. (Harrison, 1863.)

pleasure. I have just been reading Mrs. Norton's novel.* I am charmed by it, and consider it, as addressed to persons of the world, worth a hundred sermons. But she should have left out her remarks—people do not like to be lectured—and let the tale tell its own story.

I had written to you a long letter, for one from you had carried me into Eastern politics ; but on reading it over I said *d quoi bon ?* and put it into the fire.

Do persons in England think the Turks govern Servia, or have anything to do with its government ? Servia governs itself as completely as Belgium. It is guaranteed from attack by formidable neighbours, on payment of a small tribute. Is this condition a very hard one ? The people are a people of peasants or small farmers ; they do not like paying taxes, or being drilled as soldiers. Their revenue is £250,000 and their population 1,000,000. What would you make of this ?

As to Turkey, we have no idea of aiding the Turks to put down the Christians, but just the reverse. As to the Christians rising against the Turks without foreign aid, this is at present something like the sheep rising against the mastiff. Attempts at such risings would only check the progress the Rayah is making in industry and wealth, on which his future really depends, either as part of this empire or as successor to it. But many imagine the Christians are a united body : they hate each other more than they hate the Mussulmans and the Greeks ; the most intelligent of the Christian races are themselves torn by internal divisions. Time will work out this political problem ; all we try to do at present is to prevent no government taking the place of some government, and urging and helping a bad government to be better than it was.

No one is blind to Turkish abuses, or defends them or

* 'Lost and Saved.'

disguises them ; but nations do not jump from barbarism to civilisation in twenty-five years.

Is there any truth in rumours of Lord John's resignation? What's the matter? I hope Palmerston is still stout, *malgré* gout and 75!

I cannot see why we should not recognise the South, but I do not know that much would be gained by our doing so.

As to Poland, the public feeling seems that of a bully who will swagger but not fight. Still, we have gone so far that if Russia will fight, we must ; but I can't help thinking that the Czar will swallow the black draught* we have poured out for him with a smile, and say he is convinced it is meant for his good. I know nothing, however, about the matter.

I am, as usual, up to my eyes in business all day, and write to you at one in the morning. Good night, and what are your plans? Storks' horse is shot under him and my nephew's (Henry Bulwer, Governor of Cerigo) pony shares the same fate.

Lytton is in Denmark. Where is George I.? It will end by his being King of the Ionian Islands. The last feat of the Greeks is curious. Two parties bombard each other ; shake hands, and form a coalition ministry. I am told the patriots ask for foreign intervention,

Ever yours,

H. L. B.

There is a peculiar interest attaching to the next letter, for it was written to Lord Lansdowne the day before he died.

* On the 17th June Lord Russell sent a note on the Polish question to St. Petersburg. In reply, Prince Gortschakoff declined to discuss the points in the English note, or any other, until the insurrection had been put down.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Lansdowne.

[EXTRACT.]

DEAR LORD LANSDOWNE, 8, St. James's Street,
Jan. 30, 1863.

These letters,* translated by Mrs. Grote, were lent me in manuscript by her for my article on Gentz. Not having room for more than extracts, I requested her leave to print twenty copies, of which I send you one.

I heard of your accident at Broadlands with an intimation that it threatened only contemporary inconvenience, which everybody there was delighted to hear.

The Palmerstons were in the highest health and spirits.

With the highest respect, believe me,

Dear Lord Lansdowne,

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Lord Stanhope to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR MR. HAYWARD, Chevening,
Feb. 3, 1863.

I am starting presently for London, but sit down to answer your note before I go.

I do not think that I have anything quite new to contribute to your intended sketch † of Lord Lansdowne, unless I were to go into personal anecdote, for which it is yet too early.

There is a most shrewd and caustic remark made by

* 'Letters selected from the Correspondence of M. Gentz with Madame Varnhagen von Ense in the years 1831-3, published in Berlin in 1836; translated by a private hand in 1839.'

† In the *Saturday Review*, February 7, 1863.

George the Third upon the Irish, which he made to Lord Lansdowne, and which Lord Lansdowne repeated to me. It must have been in 1806, the only period when that statesman and that Sovereign were linked together in office. I have told the story in my last volume of my 'History of England' (page 233 of the octavo edition), but I there omitted Lord Lansdowne's name, which I will now authorise you to make public if you should like to reproduce the story, as I think (considering its great point) you might do with considerable effect.

Yours very faithfully,

STANHOPE.

The next letter closes the correspondence between Mr. Hayward and his old friend Sir George Cornwall Lewis, to whom he was devoted. It is curious that almost the last letter Sir George Lewis should ever write was one in which he comments upon Mr. Hayward's Memoir of Lord Lansdowne. Sir George Lewis died at Harpton on April 13th. In a subsequent letter Lady Theresa Lewis refers to the friendship which existed between her husband and Mr. Hayward.

Sir G. C. Lewis to Mr. Hayward.

[EXTRACT.]

Kent House,
Feb. 8, 1863.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

I read with much satisfaction your article on Lord Lansdowne. His most characteristic quality was, in my opinion, his excellent judgment. I have never in my life known a person whose judgment on things, both public and private, was more invariably sound than his. He wanted self-reliance, and he disliked steady, hard work. These two latter qualities prevented him from

accepting the office of Prime Minister, for which he was pre-eminently fitted, and caused persons who did not know him well to underrate his natural abilities, which were much greater than was generally believed. If he exerted himself, he was quite a match for any of his contemporaries in debate. He had lived in familiarity with nearly all the ablest men of his day, and his opinions were all enlightened.*

Ever yours truly,
G. C. LEWIS.

Lady Theresa Lewis to Mr. Hayward.

[EXTRACT.]

Kent House,
June 5, 1863.

I hope you will forgive me for not having sooner acknowledged your kind letter, but I have been so overpowered by all I have gone through, that I have not had much power of exerting myself, even to answer those letters which were soothing to receive. It was all so sudden and unexpected, the transition from life to death so rapid, that it still often seems to me like a frightful dream, but a dream from which one wakes to a still more terrible reality. I was sure you would feel his loss deeply, for you knew him well in political, in literary, in social, and in domestic life. You knew his value in all, and could form some idea of the fearful blank that remains in the home he filled with feelings of legitimate pride and warm affection—the home so full of happy associations. The friendly meetings in which you bore a part, are all at an end. I know your friendship for him, or I would not have said so much.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,
M. THERESA LEWIS.

* *Vide* 'Letters of Sir G. C. Lewis,' p. 425.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

8, St. James's Street,
DEAR LADY EMILY, March 2, 1863.

I was very glad to get your letter, however short, this morning, as I had heard you were ill; and somehow I missed Sir Robert in the crush at Lady Palmerston's on Saturday—the largest party we have had this year. The Palmerstons themselves are gay and bright as ever. They are both positively younger than last year. Luckily, there is little this year to wear them out: at least, not by political agitation, for the Derbyites cannot get up the semblance of a fight, and the sensible among them own that opposition is useless whilst he lives.

Count Zamoyski has just been telling me that the Poles* can hold out to March, by which time they hope the Russians will be exhausted and European opinion begin to tell; and all that they ask of England is to speak and write boldly.

I fear they are too sanguine, but they fight with the formidable courage of despair.

People are going mad about the coming procession.† Sixty guineas have been given for the drawing-room next door to me in St. James's Street, only for a day. I shall try to walk all along the line and see the ladies in the balconies—the best part of the show—and then join Lady Margaret Beaumont's party.

Another book of note is Lyell's 'Antiquity of Man,' a curious collection of scientific facts and speculations tending to prove that we belong to the family of monkey.

* In January, the Poles had risen against Russia. On the 2nd of March, Lord Russell remonstrated with Russia on the state of things in Poland.

† The procession from Bricklayers' Arms Station to Paddington, on the occasion of the Princess Alexandra of Denmark (H.R.H. Princess of Wales) passing through London, on the 7th of March.

Huxley, Owen, &c., are now in hot controversy as to our more or less affinity to apes.

I wrote a Memoir of Lord Lansdowne in the *Saturday Review* of February 7, but it is hopeless to send it to any one in France, as the paper (I hear) is constantly stopped.

It seems very doubtful that the Ionian Islands will be given up.

I dined the other day at Kingston House with the usual set: C. Villiers, Quin, Delane; gay enough; but it was sad to look on the master of the house,* who strikes me to be in a state which cannot fail to give great uneasiness to his friends, though reported better.

I wrote an article on Gentz (Fanny Elsler's elderly lover) in the last *Edinburgh Review*, which would amuse you. Lytton has it.

Ever truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Lord Monck to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Quebec, Nov. 5, 1863.

I was just meditating a letter to you, as I thought you had probably by this time returned to your perch, when yours of the 16th of October reached me.

I am glad to find that my friends at home approve of my proceedings here. I have had rather a troublesome and anxious time of it during the summer, but I am repaid by the results, and by the change which the late proceedings in the Canadian Legislature have produced in the tone of the English papers.

It is also a great source of satisfaction to me that the last letter I had from poor E. Ellice †—indeed, one of the

* Baron Rothschild.

† Mr. Edward Ellice was born in Canada; he married a sister of Charles, Lord Grey, and in 1818 entered the House of Commons as M.P. for Coventry, for which place he continued to sit until his death, in September 1863.

last he ever wrote—contained an expression of his unqualified approbation of all I had done. He is a great loss to us to all, and to me particularly, for he thoroughly understood Canadian politics, and knew the difficulties with which I have to contend here.

I think the present Ministers, if they can maintain themselves, will deal with all questions, more especially those connected with finance, in a way that will be satisfactory to Englishmen. You might give me some help when the financial scheme is propounded next Session, by saying what you can in its favour in the *Saturday*.

The condition of English political parties at present is certainly strange ; all my correspondents—on both sides—convey to me the same opinion that you express, with regard to the safety of the Government as long as Palmerston lives, while the elections appear all to go against him.

Is Disraeli really in bad health, as the papers state him to be? If anything took him out of the way, I should think the Opposition would be as hard up for a leader as we should be if anything happened to Palmerston.

Lord Russell's speech at Blairgowrie and the stoppage of the "Rams"* in the Mersey have produced a good effect on the official mind in the States. I cannot, however, learn that the tone of *general* public sentiment has been much altered in our favour there.

We have had, as I believe was the case all over the world, a magnificent summer, and are now just preparing our furs, and putting up our double windows to protect us against the rigours of winter, which is, however,

* The two ironclad rams built by Mr. Laird for the use of the Confederate States. Mr. Adams, the Federal Minister in England, had declared, that to permit these vessels to sail would amount to an act of war.

approaching us with more gentle steps than he used last year.

My Private Secretary—Godley—has gone home on leave, and will probably be in London during the winter. I am going to give him a note of introduction to you, as I dare say you will like to hear of us from him, and you will find him very intelligent and well-informed.

I am sorry to hear your account of the Duke's health, and still more sorry to find that he cannot be impressed with a proper sense of the necessity of taking care of himself. Sir H. Holland spent a day with me in the beginning of September, and refreshed me with the latest accounts of my old political associates and haunts at home. Pray remember me to him when you see him.

What havoc death has made in the front rank during the two short years I have been away!—Graham, Lansdowne, Lewis, Clyde, and now Lyndhurst, Ellice, and Whately!

Believe me to be,
Yours very truly,
MONCK.

Do you ever hear from Young?

Lord Clarendon in the following letter refers to the Duke of Newcastle's health, which was fast breaking up.

Lord Clarendon to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR HAYWARD,

The Grove, Jan. 9, 1864.

I was particularly glad to get your letter, and much obliged to you for writing, as two or three days ago I got but an indifferent account from himself of Newcastle. His maladies engender low spirits and an apprehension of worse things coming, so the report of an impartial observer is valuable; and I am very hopeful that he will pull through by judicious management and by *not* leaving office. If he had not Colonial grievances

to think about as well as his own, I am quite sure that he would be worse.*

I heard some time ago that Murray had declined the English version of Todleben's work, † thinking it too professional as well as too expensive for his customers. Everybody will wish to know what is in it, but at ten guineas there will not be many purchasers.

I never doubted that after Alma, Sebastopol might have been taken by a dash, and I am glad that this is admitted by the Russians. I suppose there will be evidence to show with whom rests the blame of *dashlessness*.

My only comfort in this detestable weather is hoping that the frost will cool the ardour of both Danes and Germans. Everybody is dead sick of Schleswig-Holstein, ‡ but rather uneasy about eventualities.

Yours very truly,

CLARENDON.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

8, St. James's Street,

May 17, 1864.

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,

I enclose you a curious illustration of Disraeli's cast of mind. What other man would expect to gain by such a trick?§

Are you aware that, when the last Derby Government was hard pushed, he made an offer to the ultra-Liberal

* The Duke of Newcastle died on the 18th of October, 1864. He had acted as Secretary of State for the Colonies in Lord Palmerston's last Government, had accompanied H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to Canada, and been made a K.G.

† 'A History of the Crimean War;' called 'Défense de Sébastopol.'

‡ The dispute between Denmark and Germany about Schleswig-Holstein.

§ The allusion is to the alterations made by Mr. Disraeli when republishing his 'Revolutionary Epic.' His opponents accused him of intentional deception, but the charge was not substantiated.

party to extend the franchise so as to include a large section of the working classes, in fact, a practical proposition broader than yours? I well remember it, for I called public attention to it at the time in the newspapers.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Hayward.

11, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

May 19, 1864.

Many thanks for your note and enclosure. The amendments made are, I think, not purely literary; but I do not see that it was worth his while to make them.

With respect to the franchise, I think D'Israeli always maintained that when the time came for dealing with Parliamentary Reform, the labouring classes must be rather freely admitted to the suffrage.

Believe me,
Faithfully yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

Lord Cardwell to Mr. Hayward.

Barrow Green,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

July 3, 1864.

Many thanks for your note, the contents of which I mentioned to Lord P. I agree with you that, upon the whole, Kinglake's amendment is the best thing for us;* notwithstanding the objections of the war men.

I can't count heads yet; but I suppose that the odds are on our side, to win by a very few.

Ever yours,
EDWARD CARDWELL.

* Mr. Kinglake's amendment to Mr. Disraeli's motion in the debate on the Address. Mr. Kinglake's amendment was carried by 313 to 295.

Mr. Hayward to Stirling of Keir.

MY DEAR STIRLING, 8, St. James's Street,
Oct. 17, 1864.

How are you? I can get no satisfactory answer from any one else. So I put the question to yourself. I hear that Mrs. Norton is to be in London this evening.

Have you read the letters about the Davenport Brothers? The letter signed *No Conjuror*, in the *Times* of to-day, is mine.

I was at Paris for a fortnight, and by way of object went the round of the theatres to write an article on them, which I have just done for *Fraser*.*

I also wrote "Todleben"† for the *North British* and "Saxe"‡ for the *Edinburgh Rev.* So let no one call me an idler.

H. Bulwer, Wyke, Storks, Strzelecki and others have been off and on, and we have seldom had an empty day at the Athenæum.

There is not the remotest thought of a dissolution before next autumn, unless it is forced.

I saw the Palmerstons daily when they were in town last week. Both were in the highest health and spirits. Todleben is expected daily. On his arrival, Kinglake will come to town to meet him.

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

* "The Drama in Paris." *Fraser's Magazine*, December 1864.

† "Todleben's History of the Crimean War." *North British Review*, August 1864.

‡ "Marshal Saxe." *Edinburgh Review*, October 1864. 'Biographical and Critical Essays,' p. 228, by A. Hayward. (Longmans, 1873.)

Lord Stanhope to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

Chevening, Nov. 6, 1864.

I owe you many thanks for your two interesting and agreeable letters, which reached me while still at Hemsted Park. The idea of a dissolution is evidently, as you announced from the first, a mere idle tale. But I think it a great pity that there was not at first, and on the part of the Government, an authoritative contradiction to it in the *Times*. Its prevalence has been an injury, not to one party but to both, by the stir and excitement, and what is worse, the expense, which it has been causing in several county towns.

We found Hemsted a beautiful new house in a beautiful old park, the latter abounding in venerable oaks, and commanding some extensive views. I like the owner* very much, and I think him one of the most able and promising of all our middle-age politicians; one who ought, in the event of any change of Government, to fill a very high official place.

We are going to Battle on Tuesday, to stay a week.

Lord Amberley's † marriage is fixed, I observe, for the day after to-morrow. When we met him at Lord Minto's this autumn, Lord M. told me that in walking across the field with him and his boys, Lord A. was apt to stick fast at the stiles, and Lord M. or the boys had to help him over.

Ever yours faithfully,

STANHOPE.

* Mr. Gathorne Hardy, now Viscount Cranbrook, Lord President of the Council.

† The late Lord Amberley was the eldest son of Lord (John) Russell, and married the Hon. Katherine Louisa, a daughter of Lord Stanley of Alderley.

Lord Arthur Russell to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Rome, Dec. 31, 1864.

I have not yet thanked you for your letter and the news it contained. When I received it I was just starting for Naples, and I thought I would have more to tell you of if I waited till I came back here. Lady Holland received me very hospitably, but her *salon* has become the meeting-place of the discontented, who there lament the present state of things. No doubt there is a great deal of discontent at Naples, of course, after so great a change, but they do not understand that the privilege of grumbling is one of the charms of liberty, and the sensation is new to them. The Government is very active. The streets are less dirty than they were, beggars have diminished greatly, many public works are in *progress*, the Museum and all institutions are being reorganized, new and active men at the head of all departments, abuses without end have been broken down, the number of students at the University has enormously increased—all this in four years!—and when the Government is at Florence, the cry of being “*piemontizati*” must cease. Even if the Unity does not last, this commotion will have done Southern Italy incalculable good. But if Italy is left to itself, if France or Austria do not interfere, I do not see how Italy is to be broken up again. The army is quite loyal; the Mazzinians may give trouble, but are not strong enough to excite civil war; and all the ability and energy of the country in the service of the same cause. The Pope and the Bourbons really have no men in their service whom they could oppose to the Italian statesmen, and these are probably more efficiently assisted by their enemies in the Sacred College than by their best friends. The last Encyclical, which you have probably

seen, condemning eighty of the most dangerous errors of the age, is a proof of the Pope's perfect sincerity, but it paralyses the efforts of his friends. How can Montalembert and Falloux now say: "You calumniate the Pope!" — has just arrived in time to hear his most dangerous opinions condemned. When the two years of the Convention are over, Napoleon will find it very difficult to go away after sixteen years of fruitless efforts, and leave the Pope in a state of utter destitution—but *videbimus!* Lords Grey and Carnarvon are here; the weather is very wet. I wish you a happy New Year.

Yours sincerely,
ARTHUR RUSSELL.

Mrs. Grote to Mr. Hayward.

[EXTRACT.]

The Ridgeway,
Jan. 6, 1865.

The article* has been read by both of us attentively, and with very real interest. The arguments closely pressed home, the citations illustrative, and the refutation of pretentious assertions effective. "Historicus" † has expressed himself highly pleased with the paper altogether, but his practical eye discerned that some portions must have been excised. He saw a certain incompleteness in some places which he fancied had not existed in your "pleading," and when he said so I told him how it had happened. The subject is tossed about and sifted very thoroughly, and the various points of view taken in turn, whether as regards evidence or

* "Spiritualism, as related to Religion and Science." *Fraser's Magazine*, January 1865.

† "Historicus" was Mr. George Grote, the historian of Greece.

utility, historical basis, argument derived from universal belief of mankind, or from individual authority of weight ; and each disposed of and rejected. I think the article *must* strike at the root of the superstition and do service.

Ever yours truly,
H. GROTE.

Lady Clanricarde to Mr. Hayward.*

DEAR MR. HAYWARD, Portumna, Jan. 24, 1865.

Thanks for your letter, and many happy New Years to you. One may continue to offer one's good wishes so long as the evergreens are still in the churches.

Things are so flat and quiet that poor C. Greville† must have thought it a good moment to leave us to ourselves. Poor man! it is like losing a link in the days gone by. I am afraid I cannot accept the conclusion, that his death was not hastened by that wretched night he passed so unexpectedly in the cold inn at Marlborough ; from the details I have heard, there is no doubt that it was a most uncomfortable night, and he certainly then got a chill which produced a very severe cold, such as he had not strength to throw off. A great friend, who saw him the day before his death, gave this account of him, though without then anticipating any immediate danger. But you must know as I do, that heart disease would probably be much aggravated by the oppression of a long and severe cold in a man in his state of health. I am surprised he should have left his papers to — ; Granville, Sneyd, Henry Greville, all appeared to me more likely. I am afraid Lady Palmerston will feel a shock from the loss of her old

* She was the highly gifted daughter of George Canning.

† Charles C. F. Greville, Clerk of the Council, died Jan. 18, 1865.


friend—what a friend I never guessed till a little while ago. Going to see Lady Tankerville, we got upon the subject of Lady Palmerston : and all Lady T. then said proved to me how unjust the idea was, that an over-tender heart in youth became always a doubly hard one in old age : she really seemed to worship Lady P. Of her (Lady P.) I hear remarks that rather alarm me ; but I have no doubt if she is not up to her work, P. will dissolve at once to give her a rest. I am told he is perfectly confident of an easy Session, and a dissolution with results such as will be only a variety in the favour of his successor—we shall see.

I got the *Frasers*, and guessed that you had sent them. Without believing in the supernatural, I am not nearly so sceptical as yourself* with regard to visible and tangible facts. Instead of saying “How can a table move by itself?” I say “Why shouldn't it?”

Half the things we see in the course of nature would seem impossible to us if they were new.

We shall not be in town for the meeting of Parliament. Clanricarde is busy about a plan for extensive drainage for the improvement of a large tract of country, which others equally interested in it have asked him to concoct and bring forward, and he has hopes that the Government may not refuse the very reasonable amount of assistance that is asked of them ; for if they will look into the case, they must see that the claim advanced is a just as well as a moderate one, and that it would be good feeling to grant it ; but probably they (especially Lord P.) will never take so much trouble as to study the details of the matter : for they and their majority hate Irish affairs, as people always hate what disturbs their self-complacency and puzzles their ignorance ; but there has seldom been a time when anything that could give employment to vast numbers of the poor, and at the

* Alluding to Mr. Hayward's article on 'Spiritualism.'



same time increase the resources of the country, would have been more desirable. This country is in a sadly impoverished condition. The county towns and the small farmers are all in debt, and the discontent (I may say disaffection) is beyond anything *I* have ever seen heretofore. Gentlemen of position, as well as educated men of an inferior class, argue openly that Ireland would be far more prosperous under the paternal government of France, than under the Doctrinaire neglect of the English Administration. True, the geographical position of the countries is the answer to that dream, and don't fancy that I expect a Rebellion—but it appears to me contrary to all I have seen or read, that a great amount of discontent *continuing* in a country should not produce serious results of some sort.

I suppose London is now beginning to fill and be sociable. If you have our weather, I don't envy those who go out at night : we have had seven degrees of frost for the last three days.

I hear Lord Derby's delight at the success of his *Iliad* has quite driven away the gout and restored his strength. Is it true that the Queen is supposed now to wish for him, and to have given up all idea of Lord Clarendon? Some of those about here are putting this report about.

Yours very truly,
H. CLANRICARDE.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to Mr. Hayward.

Grosvenor Square,
DEAR MR. HAYWARD, March 15, 1865.

"Brightest" was no doubt the right word, and the word intended by Pope in the passage you quote.* It

* Pope's line on Lord Bacon : "The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind."

is really difficult to explain or conceive how it could have been jostled out of so many well-informed memories by so improper a substitute as "greatest." I have always admired that passage about "Heroes and the Wise," though some of the lines are expressed in very colloquial terms, and one might justly criticise the use of "bleed" as descriptive of the death of Socrates by poison; which, far from causing an effusion of blood, killed the Philosopher by numbing the action of his heart.

Sincerely yours,
STRATFORD DE R.

Several of the following letters allude to a tour Mr. Hayward made in Spain in the autumn of 1855, and the acquaintances he formed in consequence. He appears to have acquired a thorough knowledge of the Spanish language,* and on his return he embodied his observations in an article for *Fraser's Magazine*, entitled "Politics and Prospects of Spain."

Mr. Hayward to Stirling of Keir.

[EXTRACT.]

8, St. James's Street,

MY DEAR STIRLING,

Oct. 13, 1865.

I was delighted with my trip to Madrid, and perfectly charmed with Zarco del Valle, † who was kind beyond

* When the Marquis Casa de Laglesia was Spanish Minister in London, he had to select some English men of letters to act as jurors in awarding a prize for the best poem in honour of Calderon written in English verse. He first consulted with Mr. Hayward, and made his selection according to his suggestions.

† Don Manuel Zarco del Valle, to whom Stirling had given Mr. Hayward an introduction, was private Librarian to the late King of Spain, and is a leading authority on Spanish literature.

measure for your sake (I believe) more than my own. How can I send some books to him? I promised Froude* to write my impressions for the December *Fraser*, and I am now polishing them up. The political position luckily is on the surface, and I talked it out with members of the Government as well as with Prim and some progresistas. I also stated my impressions of most things to del Valle, and found we almost always agreed.

I did some work before starting. The article on 'Charles de Bernard' in the last *Fraser*, and the 'Berry Correspondence' in the new *Edinburgh*, are mine.

Lord Clarendon, who saw Lord Palmerston the other day, says that he is wonderfully recovered, and was looking quite *rosy*. †

Mr. Hayward to Stirling of Keir.

[EXTRACT.]

8, St. James's Street,

Oct. 25, 1865.

MY DEAR STIRLING,

I enclose a letter just received from del Valle. Count Valencia wrote to me to say he was prevented calling by an *indisposal*.

Not being a party politician, he was doubly useful to me for correcting impressions.

Lord Russell wrote directly to all the Cabinet, and they agreed to go on. ‡ Indeed, it was all settled two years ago, contingently, in a conversation at *The Grove*.

* Mr. J. A. Froude was, for a short time, editor of *Fraser's Magazine*.

† Lord Palmerston's condition underwent a sudden change for the worse on the 17th of October, and he died on the 18th.

‡ Lord Russell, who had been Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs during Lord Palmerston's last Administration, succeeded him as Prime Minister.

G. Lewis said to me—"Never mind about Premiers. I could name you three or four. When you speculate on a change of Government, begin by naming your leader of the House of Commons."

I mentioned this to —, and the next day it appeared thus in the *Times*:—

"Tell me who leads the House of Commons, and I will tell you who is destined to be Premier."

To prevent my anecdotes of Lord Palmerston from being similarly garbled, I have written them down for the forthcoming *Fraser*,* and I fear you will say that some of my remarks are an addition to the heap of trash. But I don't think there is a platitude or a burlesque amongst them.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Lytton.

[EXTRACT.]

8, St. James's Street,

Nov. 13, 1865.

MY DEAR LYTTON,

I have directed to be sent to you the November *Fraser*, which contains my reminiscences of Lord Palmerston. I have included nothing but what I heard him say. I have been in Spain, and much pleased with my trip, having learnt a new language and a new set of politics, the key to which is *faction, faction, faction*. They have no recent literature of mark, except Fernan Caballero's.† Their papers beat anything out of America for violence and personality.

I have since been to Newstead Abbey,‡ and I go tomorrow to Beaumont's. To the best of my information,

* "Lord Palmerston." *Fraser's Magazine*, November, 1865.

† Pseudonym of Cecilia Bohl de Faber, a Spanish novelist. Her works were very popular. She died in 1877.

‡ The seat of W. F. Webb, Esq.

nothing will be settled, or if settled, not made known in the way of Ministerial changes, till shortly before the meeting of Parliament, for fear of risking riots and exciting trouble. Delane has handed over the *Times* to Dasent since the beginning of October, and was in Ireland till recently. He wrote me that he had always made up his mind not to stand a *Johiad*, and still maintains that it will not survive Easter. The materials for additional strength in the House of Commons are altogether wanting, still I think they will rub on with moderate prudence. The Reform Bill, which they can't avoid, is the rock ahead.

Poor Lady Theresa Lewis! I had just been reviewing her book* in the *Edinburgh Review* in a way to please her, and she is gone! She died of cancer. Lady Palmerston is getting better, but was very ill for some days.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mrs. Grote to Mr. Hayward.

Rodborough Manor, Stroud,

DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

Dec. 3, 1865.

I think your review of the Berry Memoirs (which I have now perused) one of the most careful and complete of your productions. It is exceedingly pleasant to find one's hand does not grow feeble after a certain lapse of years, but that one's last performance is fully up to the mark. The book is in itself well worth having, as everything original or authentic is, about social history. To complain that it is trivial, gossipy, and superficial, is silly. Moore's diary was far more so, yet it was a contribution which was welcomed for what it was worth, and the "tableau" presented by the lives of the leisure class

* 'The Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry.' Lady Theresa died on the 9th of November. She was the sister of Lord Clarendon and Mr. C. P. Villiers, M.P.

must ever be of the same character. The valuable part of these books is, the material they furnish for instructive commentary, whilst the impressions revived *must* afford a lively interest to the modern reader when they relate to eminent individuals. I look forward to many a pleasant *dive*, accordingly, into these tomes, during the coming winter.

Yours very truly,
H. GROTE.

Mr. Hayward to Don Manuel Zarco del Valle.

MY DEAR DEL VALLE, 8, St. James's Street,
Nov. 10, 1865.

I confided the books (two volumes of my Essays and the Translation of 'Faust') to the care of Mr. Quaritch some days since, and he promised to forward them by the first opportunity.

I have finished my article, which is mostly on the political condition of Spain. However, I have flung in a few personal reminiscences, not of a nature to offend the national *amour propre*.

You would do me a great favour by writing me your general impression of the prospects of the *Union Liberal** Ministry. Have they changed much since I left? What parties persist in abstaining, and what is expected to be the effect?

I know you don't care about politics, so all I ask is your general impression as a looker-on. West lent me a book pointing out the mischievous effects on Spanish industry of her American colonies and possessions. It

* "The 'Union Liberal' (now in office) under O'Donnell, may pair off with the English Liberals under Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone; comprising, as they do, all shades of Liberalism, with the exception of the extremes." (*Fraser's Magazine*. "Politics and Prospects of Spain." 1865.)

was a book of mark, that had won a prize. Can you give me the title of it? It is hardly worth writing to West on purpose. You would add to the obligation, by sending me two or three of the numbers of any Spanish paper that states what is going on. I have only seen regularly *La Discusion* and *El Español*. But so far as I can collect, there is always the same wearying interchange of abuse and depreciation, *connu, connu*.

I was very lucky in getting off before the cholera broke out, for it would have made travelling unpleasant, if people rushed away as is stated.

Our present Ministry is far from strong as regards Parliamentary ability, but I think they will stand, and (to say the truth) I care little whether they do or not, for they are sure to be replaced quietly without a *pronunciamento*. I found from Latour's* book (that you gave me) that I had not read any of Fernan Caballero's best books, and I have hastened to make up for my deficiency. They deserve all you said of them. I shall not put the finishing hand to my article till I hear from you. Did you see anything of Montalembert? He and I used to be great allies, but I have not seen him for two years.

Believe me,

Ever most truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Stirling of Keir.

[EXTRACT.]

MY DEAR STIRLING,

8, St. James's Street,
Nov. 13, 1865.

If Mrs. Norton is still with you, tell her I have heard twice from Mrs. Sheridan, who writes cheerily, and

* 'Études Littéraires sur l'Espagne Contemporaine.'

wanted me to come to Frampton to meet some "pretty girls" (which I can't).

The stories of Ministerial changes are mere guesses at what may happen. Lord de Grey,* I hear, does not think of moving, and heard with astonishment of his own alleged inefficiency. I, too, had never before heard of it.

I am glad Carlyle has beat Disraeli.† A sketch of Carlyle by F. Stephen is to appear in *Fraser*. Delane returned from Ireland last week, but only passed through town. Dasent is still in power.‡

Lady Palmerston starts for Brighton to-morrow. She is still weak, but getting round.

I have not sent you *Fraser* with my reminiscences, because you did not like him, and would not agree. But I have set down nothing but what passed in my hearing, and what I honestly thought.

I go to-morrow to Bretton Park, Wakefield, to stay the week. Tell Mrs. Norton I will write to her from there, when I may pick up something to say. Her letter was charming, as indeed her letters always are.

Stirling of Keir to Mr. Hayward.

Keir, near Dunblane, N.B.,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Nov. 21, 1865.

I sent you off a few minutes ago four pheasants, killed this morning, which I hope will reach you in good case.

I read your article on Lord Palmerston in *Fraser*, and liked it very much. You seemed to me to keep quite clear of everything that made most of the other *Elogia* offensive, doing justice to all the qualities which

* Secretary of State for War.

† Mr. Carlyle was elected Rector of Edinburgh University by a majority of 657 to 310 over Mr. Disraeli.

‡ As temporary editor of the *Times*.

he really possessed in a remarkable degree, yet not covering him with gratuitous garlands for merits which he never claimed, and would perhaps have been the first to laugh at and repudiate, could he have read the notices of his own life and death. "The deeds which he did and the might which he shewed" are quite sufficient to stand alone on his tomb without the aid of padding and puffing.

I believe you may with perfect safety call Gayangos one of the first of living Arabic scholars—though I suppose a first-hand opinion on the subject is to be picked up amongst some of the pundits at the Athenæum. He is, I should imagine, more learned than any living Spaniard in the literature of his own country. He translated Ticknor's 'History of Spanish Literature,' and made large additions to it in the shape of notes. He has compiled an elaborate bibliography of Spanish books of Chivalry, and he possesses one of the largest and finest collections of the Spanish works of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. A very large portion of the books of Spanish local history cited in Ford, are contributed by him ; and, generally, he has had some considerable share in furnishing materials for almost every good English book on any Spanish subject which has appeared during the last thirty years. I have got, and have read most of, O'Shea's book,* but do not know enough of modern Spanish literature to say whether he has omitted any considerable names. I cannot find the book to look at the section in question, though I have delayed this letter two days in hopes of finding it. He strikes me as an imitator of Ford, borrowing largely from him without acknowledgment, and picking a hole in him whenever he can.

Yours very truly,

W. STIRLING.

* 'A Guide to Spain.'

Mr. Hayward to Stirling of Keir.

[EXTRACT.]

MY DEAR STIRLING, 8, St. James's Street,
Nov. 22, 1865.

The pheasants have arrived safe, and will be duly appreciated by my "society," as poor Munro pleased to call it—that is, if any of them are forthcoming, for I have seen none since Monday. Lady Waldegrave's Dudbrook party holds good, notwithstanding Chichester Fortescue's appointment.* I am glad you like the *Palmerstoniana*. I did not mean to pass any opinion on his public conduct or views, but merely to specify them, and any one might collect that I differed from almost all of them; . . . of which his refusal to support Radowitz (as Radowitz told it to me) was a decisive instance.† Peel‡ was driven to resign, and is to have nothing. He can't complain, as he told everybody long ago that he should change sides when Lord Palmerston died.

Ever truly yours,
A. H.

* Mr. Chichester Fortescue (now Lord Carlingford) had been Under-Secretary for the Colonies in Lord Palmerston's last Administration. He now became Chief Secretary for Ireland. In 1863 he had married Frances, Countess of Waldegrave.

† "When Austria and Prussia quarrelled over Hesse-Cassel, and were about to come to blows, he had only to hold up his hand, and Prussia would have crossed the Rubicon. General Radowitz was overruled, and compelled to give way, because even the moral support of England was refused." (*Fraser's Magazine*, November 1865.)

‡ This is a mistake—*vide* "Policy and Prospects of the Government," by A. Hayward; *Fraser's Magazine*, January 1866. Sir Robert Peel was, in fact, offered two steps in the peerage *after* his resignation, and after he refused the Duchy of Lancaster; and after his refusal of that promotion, Lord John Russell offered him the Grand Cross of the Bath, which he accepted.

Mr. Hayward to Don M. Zarco del Valle.

MY DEAR DEL VALLE, 8, St. James's Street,
Dec. 2, 1865.

Mon histoire est finie. Your letter came too late to be of use for the article, although very acceptable in itself. I do not think our views differ much. I send by book-post the December number of *Fraser's Magazine*, which you ought to receive along with this letter. The political state of Spain has suddenly become interesting to Englishmen, and the *Times* has sent a special correspondent to Madrid, whose first letter appeared on the 14th of last month. He began very badly, but is gradually acquiring some knowledge of the state of things. It is, I believe, —, the same to whom Mazzini gave his famous dagger, with the *lapis lazuli* handle, to kill the Rè Galantuomo or his father, I forget which. — sold the handle and did not use the blade, the most profitable piece of tyrannicide recorded in history.

I have just been staying in a house with the Duc and Duchesse d'Aumale. I showed the Duc your letter, and he was much struck with your views. Stirling was to be in town about this time, but I have not yet had time to look for him, as I only returned from the country yesterday.

People are making a great fuss here about the war with Chili, which damages our commerce: a much more serious matter than damaging our honour. But, *entre nous*, your Government need not be alarmed, for I do not think any English Government would venture to interfere by deeds, unless in concert with France. The non-intervention doctrine has been so recently proclaimed as our future rule of conduct, that there would be a palpable inconsistency in departing from it.

I am very sorry to hear of your *indisposal*, but I hope you are perfectly well disposed by this time.

By the way, I got so good a view of the *Escorial* from the railway, that I felt quite satisfied. I must have been asleep when I passed it on my way to Madrid. However, I shall give a very minute description of the interior to Stirling, taken from his own book.

Let me hear from you when you have received the *Magazine*. Best regards to Gayangos and his fair daughter when you see them, and believe me,

Ever most truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. A. Graham Dunlop to Mr. Hayward.*

DEAR SIR,

Cadiz, Dec. 29, 1865.

I beg to thank you for your kind note, and am glad that you remembered me. The December *Fraser* came to me yesterday (by Madrid Legation bag), and I have carefully perused your very able and interesting paper on this country. Taken in connection with Mr. Grant Duff's and Lord Edward St. Maur's articles, I am glad that the subject is now *well* placed before the English public; and it seems to me that your essay will be exceedingly beneficial in guiding people's ideas, and aiding their comprehension respecting the present state of Spain. One thing is, however, certain: *viz.*, that great changes will ensue sooner or later in Spain, and that it is *very probable* that these changes will include dynastic ones. Should anything ere long happen to Queen Isabella, nothing can save the Bourbon race. This is evident to all, and is the means by which the Iberian party push their views, especially hereabouts, and all along the Western Frontier.

* Mr. Graham Dunlop was British Consul at Cadiz.

I enclose a paper sent to me in the summer by a clever Spaniard (who writes English very well for his nation) ; it may amuse you to read it.

Many writers have during the last seventy years so "written up" Spain unjustly, that they have not done her a real service. My countryman, William Stirling, for instance, with a great deal of talent, elegance, and scholarship, has always given too *couleur de rose* views of the arts and artists in Spain, specially the art of painting, which in Spain was comparatively a temporary and short-lived importation ; it didn't last, so Stirling says—it has died out. Spain is now the country in Europe the least accomplished—the least *Amateur*—in general art. In fact, (like the accident of the wonderful wealth which accrued to Spain *by chance*, from the immediate results of the discovery of America), the Art of *painting*, for instance, was always in Spain a hot-house plant, fostered by the rich, appreciated by the few. The common working Spaniard and the ordinary Spanish citizen, unlike the same class in Italy, Southern Germany, and Greece, has little appreciation of art—never had. He doesn't even like flowers or trees ; and he goes sometimes to stare at a picture, because in Spain most pictures are "holy," and sacred subjects are grateful to his superstition.

Ford, too, made so charming and interesting a handbook, that a journey through Arragon, and then through Andalusia, was fashionable. Thus, somehow, an erroneous notion has got into people's heads, of the resources, the interesting condition of Spain, and her progress, &c.

Spain will make no *real* progress till she has ten million more inhabitants (she has barely on her mainland fifteen millions) ; till she has some millions more of acres of thriving forests of seventy years old at least ; till her healthy strong working men cease to leave her as

they are doing every year, for South America and other countries ; and till she has a much freer tariff, and no octroi at her town gates, which curtails and prevents intercourse among Spaniards themselves.

I have no opportunity here of writing officially on Spanish *politics*. You know that we consuls are not supposed to write on such matters. We are even discouraged from doing so ; but I have written some interesting enough *letters* about Spanish matters to Mr. Layard, who is thoroughly well-up in the present condition of affairs here. Do you know him ? He has always been extremely courteous and kind to me, as in fact are all the *authorities* at F. O. One thing has struck me lately, apropos of the prevailing *French* influence in Madrid and at Barcelona, viz., the Prince Imperial of France is (by birth) a grandee of Spain ! Will anything ever *hereafter* come of this ?

Most faithfully yours,

A. GRAHAM DUNLOP.

P.S.—Accept my thanks for the pleasure which reading your paper has given me, and for much information contained in it which will be useful to me.

Any letter, &c., left at F. O. for me with Mr. Alston will always reach me.

A. G. D.

When 'Diaries of a Lady of Quality'* was published it elicited some comment and correspondence at the time, the general result of which was introduced into a second edition published later. Unfortunately, the information contained in the following letters came too late to be inserted.

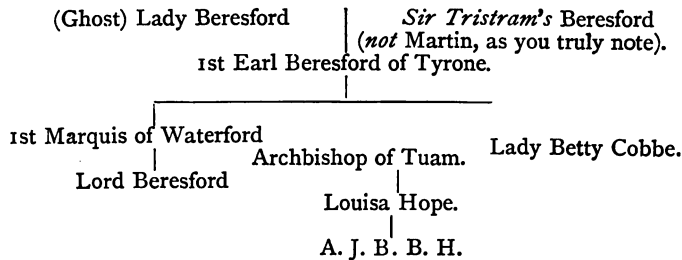
* Longmans, 1864.

The story of the "Tyrone Ghost" forms the subject of Mr. Hope's inquiries, and his elucidations are interesting when compared with the version of the story in the 'Diaries,' page 43,

Mr. Beresford Hope to Mr. Hayward.

Arklow House, Connaught Place,
MY DEAR MR. HAYWARD, June 14, 1864.

As you were telling me that a second edition of your most interesting 'Lady of Quality' was imminent, I venture to think that you will not be bored by one or two notes on the subject of the "Beresford" (as I have always heard it called) *not* "Tyrone" Ghost.* It was a favourite story of the Marshal's, derived on his part from the generation before him—a generation that came very near *his* time—she being his great-grandmother, my *great-great-grandmother*.



This tradition, which I take to be the orthodox family one, corresponded in the main (sentimentality apart) with your first narrative and not with the Llangollen version, which you seem to think has the greater weight of internal evidence, only it included the chest of drawers (given in the latter one). These drawers, he

* "The Tyrone Ghost Story," p. 43, 'Diaries of a Lady of Quality.' (Longmans, 1864.)

used to say, are or were in Lord Clanwilliam's possession—a younger descendant of Lady Beresford.

But the first narrative makes a sad hash of my great-aunt, Lady Betty Cobbe. So far from her being the friend of Lady Beresford, and the sentimental *witness* of the marriage of Lady B.'s son with Lord Tyrone's daughter, she was the offspring of that very marriage, and so granddaughter of the two parties to the ghost scene; she lived quite down into historical times. Her husband was the son of an Archbishop Cobbe, of Dublin. The *ghost* lady was a Hamilton, daughter of Lord Glenawly.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely

A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE.

Mr. Beresford Hope to Mr. Hayward.

Arklow House, Connaught Place,

MY DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

June 17, 1864.

I am very sorry my notes were too late for your second edition. In case you should never touch the question again, I may add that, often as I have heard the Marshal tell the story (nearly according to your first version), I never once heard him allude to Lord Tyrone or any other person *by name*, as the one whose ghost was said to have appeared. He always described the man simply as a friend of hers. Considering how accurate his memory always was, and how full all his other details of this story were, this omission was curious; to him it was simply the "Beresford" and not the "Tyrone Ghost." Of course I won't say whether the importation of Lord T. was a subsequent feature in the tradition, or whether it was not a slip of the Marshal's memory to leave him out. Lord Tyrone was, I need not observe, in the same degree of ancestry to us as Lady Beresford;

and so, to a descendant of both, it will make the story more piquant to bring in the De la Poer as well as the Beresford ancestor ; this leads me to imagine that Lord Tyrone was an afterthought.

Yours very sincerely,

A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE.

CHAPTER IV.

1866, 1867.

Mr. Hayward and the Reform Bill—The Jamaica insurrection—Letter from Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, Spanish art, the Jamaica commission—Letters to Lord Elcho, the "Cave" and the Reform Bill—Letters from Madame Mohl, French *Salons*—Letter from Sir Charles Wyke, the battle of Langensalza, Count Moltke—Lord Stanhope and Mr. G. Scharf on historical portraits at the National Portrait Gallery—The Government and Reform—Letters to Stirling of Keir, the Reform prospects—Letter from Lady Clanricarde, condition of Ireland—Sir Charles Wheatstone and the invention of the electric telegraph—Mr. Graham Dunlop on the condition of Spain—Letter to Mr. Gladstone, the split of the "Cave"—Retirement of Lord Derby—Confederation of the British North American Provinces—Letter to Lady Waldegrave, Government prospects, the Queen of Holland—Review of Miss Edgeworth's life and writings—Letters to Mr. Gladstone, the political forecast—France and Italy—Letter to Mr. C. Fortescue, the position of the Liberal leaders—Lord Stanhope on Talleyrand and the Regency at Blois—Lord Clanricarde on Mr. Canning and George IV.—Letter from Sir Henry Bulwer (Lord Dalling), sketch of 'Peel.'

IN the correspondence of this period the keen interest taken by Mr. Hayward in the Reform question which agitated the country during the greater portion of the years 1866 and 1867 is manifest. His great object was, if possible, to prevent a "split" among the Liberal supporters of Lord Russell's Government on the question

of the extension of the franchise, and so to avert a return to power of a Derby-Disraeli ministry. To accomplish his object he wrote some very trenchant articles in *Fraser's Magazine*, in which he gave full effect to the views and opinions he entertained. He distrusted the party tactics of Mr. Disraeli, and dreaded the course adopted by the "Cave of Adullam," which eventually caused the overthrow of Lord Russell's Government, and the institution in its place of that of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli.

In the following letter Mr. Hayward refers to the feeling which had been aroused in this country, by the news of the way in which Mr. Eyre had put down the insurrection in Jamaica.

*Mr. Hayward to Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, Bart.**

8, St. James's Street,

Jan. 8, 1866.

MY DEAR STIRLING,

I have just returned from Chevening.† Wherever I go in the fashionable world, I find the fine ladies and gentlemen all of opinion that the hanging and flogging of Jamaica was all right. Wherever I go in the thinking world, I find the reverse. It is made a class question by the higher aristocracy, and a party question by your friends the Derbyites. I have said my say on that and other public matters in the January *Fraser*, in the first article, headed 'Policy and Prospects of the Government.' The Government have not yet settled their Reform Bill, whatever the *Times* may say. At least, so a member of the Cabinet told me on Wednesday last. I suppose they will to-morrow. There is a report that Lord Russell is

* Stirling of Keir, having succeeded to the baronetcy on his uncle's death, is henceforth styled as above.

† Lord Stanhope's.

sinking, but Lady W. Russell assures me that there is not a word of truth in it.

With compliments to Lady Anna,

Ever truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, Bart., to Mr. Hayward.

Western Club, Glasgow,

Jan. 12, 1866.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

I return Dunlop's letter* with thanks. I used to meet him at the Rashleighs' long ago, and have seen him only by glimpses since. I should think he was an observing man and painstaking.

I dare say I may have placed Spain a little too high in the scale of art, but he surely places her at least as much too low. Her mediæval architecture is quite equal to that of any country in Europe, and the Renaissance buildings are many of them models of that style.

The superior wealth of the more energetic northern nations has made them the chief seats of modern decorative art, but my impression was that Spain was not behind Italy in our recent International Exhibitions, at least so far as the quality of the painting went.

In the main, of course, Spain in her art history, always excepting architecture, must be admitted to have been the imitator, at a very humble distance, of the other Peninsula.

What Rome was to Greece, Spain, in many important things, was to Italy.

I suppose the Government, by which I mean the throne of Spain, must be very shaky. It is impossible to believe that Prim had not some very fair grounds for hoping for success, whether he achieves it or not, and at

* The letter given on p. 124.

first, of course, all news of revolt comes through the *attacked* party.

I don't think things look well for the Government about Jamaica. Should Eyre be condemned by the Commission,* I suspect it will turn out that Government had in their own hands evidence enough to show that they ought to have removed him without any Commission at all. Absence of information upon such an occasion affords surely a firm presumption against a Governor, and shows that he has either nothing to tell, or something to conceal.

That dead horse, Reform, from the back of which John Bright got up so sulkily four or five years ago, does not yet, in spite of all his speeches, show much symptoms of vitality.

What a sad death poor young Lord E. St. Maur's† was!

Remember me to the *Société*.

Ever yours very truly,

W. STIRLING.

On the reassembling of Parliament after the Easter recess, the second reading of the Reform Bill was moved, and Lord Grosvenor‡ moved his amendment, which was practically a vote of want of confidence in the Government and their Reform measure. Mr. Hayward wrote to Lord Elcho the following letters upon the subject.

* The Commission was composed of Sir H. Storks, Mr. Russell Gurney, and Mr. J. B. Maule. Their report was made in April 1866, and Governor Eyre had to resign in consequence of the strictures passed upon him.

† He died from the effect of injuries received in an encounter with a bear, while shooting in India.

‡ Lord Grosvenor was one of the leaders of the Liberal schismatics, commonly called the "Cave of Adullam." Lord Elcho shared Lord Grosvenor's views.

*Mr. Hayward to Lord Elcho.**

MY DEAR ELCHO, 8, St. James's Street,
April 20, 1866.

You have made a capital speech, and done enough for glory. Now do something to prevent a long and ruinous period of agitation, for which (if it comes to pass) you, Lord Grosvenor† & Co., will be held responsible.

You cannot surely wish to bring in Disraeli and Malmesbury? Yet the chances are that you will bring them in. The Government have made a mess of it—granted. But you must deal with the situation as it exists. The only mode of preventing mischief is to come to some sort of arrangement for passing a moderate Bill, at all events; for agreeing to help it to do, in fact, what ought to have been done with the Derby Bill of 1859.

I have talked to a great many sensible people of all parties, and to many others, and this is what they all wish.

It is all nonsense to suppose, that you can get rid of Lord Russell and Gladstone, and go on with a moderate Liberal (or any sort of coalition) Government. There is no alternative between the present Government and a Derbyite one. Hobson's choice, if you like—*mais il faut choisir*.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Lord Elcho to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD, 23, St. James's Place, S.W.,
April 21, 1866.

So it has come to this! "*Fraser*" writes to deprecate a division which he knows will be fatal to the Government he has held up as the concentration of all possible

* The present Lord Wemyss.

† Lord Grosvenor's Amendment to the Reform Bill was defeated, and the Second Reading carried by a small majority.

virtue, wisdom, talent and discretion! Too late—too late; they chose themselves to burn their ships and break down their bridges—acts, by the way, which none but ruthless invaders who distrust their followers ever have recourse to. We stand only in defence of the Constitution. The tide has turned: in two months a majority of seventy has been turned into a minority; the defence is now stronger than the attack. We calmly await the result, trusting in the purity of our motives, the goodness of our cause, and the good sense of our countrymen. When I see a great political evil staring us in the face, such as the way in which your friends treat Reform and their friends, I have one feeling, viz., to get rid of this evil. We do this by an amendment which is a practical protest against this policy and treatment. If the result is the fall of the Government, it will rest with themselves and not with us. As to the future, *Alors comme alors*. But I believe Lord Palmerston was a truer representative of the feelings of the property, intelligence, and power of the country than Gladstone upon this question.

I believe as little in your prophecies of coming danger as I did in your predictions of the success of the policy you have so zealously striven to defend. I told you long ago it would fail. I have turned out to be right. How far you may now be right as to the future time alone can show; but my confidence in the good sense of Englishmen cannot be shaken. I cheerfully accept any share of the responsibility of the issue that attaches to me. One thing at least we have learned, which I always predicted: viz., that the man least fit to lead the House of Commons is its present leader.

Many thanks for your kind words about my speech, but I can assure you that I did not make it to glorify myself.

Yours very sincerely,

ELCHO.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I hear from a friend that Horsman has spoken in the same sense as to bridges and boats. I did not hear his speech, nor have I read it. Therefore, what I have written upon this point is not a crib. Indeed, I intended to have said it in my speech, but time failed me.*

Mr. Hayward to Lord Elcho.

MY DEAR ELCHO,

8, St. James's Street,
Saturday, April 21, 1866.

I do not deprecate a division, which is of course inevitable, and if the Government are beaten they must resign or dissolve. But suppose they win by a small majority?† That is the contingency in which conciliation and moderation will be required. Calmly follow out the consequences of bringing in a Derby (or Stanley) Government pledged to Reform, as all who vote for your resolution will be pledged. It is, unluckily, a great deal more than a practical protest, such as a direct negative would have been.

Reform can never be set at rest by anti-reformers, considering to what point the recognition of its necessity has been pushed by all parties.

I am not at all aware that I ever praised the Government or their policy. I simply prefer them and it to what we are likely to get instead; for I will not believe, till I see it, that any moderate Liberals will unite with Derbyites.

I am really sorry we should differ on these points. I have not the smallest doubt of the excellence of your

* Mr. Gladstone, in his speech at Liverpool, during the Easter recess, had said, "We have passed the Rubicon—we have broken the bridge, and burned the boats behind us."

† As was the fact.

intentions, and to me personally it is a matter of profound indifference who is *in* or *out*.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward was a frequent guest at Madame Mohl's, in Paris. Her apartment in the Rue du Bac he describes as being "redolent of the social and intellectual charm which made Madame de Staël prefer the gutter of that street to the blue rushing of the arrowy Rhone or the calm waters which reflect the rocks of Meilleraye." Madame Mohl was the author of 'Madame Récamier; with a Sketch of the History of Society in France.' Mr. Hayward had sent her his article on French *Salons*, in which he had referred to her work.

Madame Mohl to Mr. Hayward.

Rue du Bac, 120,
May 12, 1866.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

I put off answering yours, hoping every day to get the *Review*,* and was at last thinking of telling you I had it not, when I received it this morning, though not from you, but from my friend Florence Nightingale, who seeing that you mention me, sent it with the same kindness she has in giving a pleasure which she has had for the necessities of the sick and wounded.

I have as yet only looked at it, and was rather astonished at the *Salons* mentioned by a Madame Bassanville; certainly some of the names were such as the *demi-monde* only frequented. Madame Ancelot hated Madame Récamier, because she received her very coldly and unwillingly, on account of her bad tongue, bad society, bad manners, and very bad reputation;

* *Fraser's Magazine*, May, 1866.

however, they do for the foreign market, these damaged goods, and the article appears remarkably entertaining. I suppose your copy was suppressed; perhaps Miss Nightingale's name on the outside might suggest it was a pamphlet on hospitals. I am delighted to have it, and thank you very much for your favourable mention and your kind intention in sending it.

We are infevered about the war*—the money market jumps up and down like a Merry Andrew—but not so the money-holders, they are all very dismal and frowning. Pereire went and shook hands with Thiers, complimenting him on his opinions; it would be laughable if it were not cryable to think that it will cost Europe, as the Crimean and Italian war, two millions of creatures before three years: which two millions of mothers have borne, and nursed, and watched, and rocked, night and day, to feed the monsters called Cannons, that L. N. may stick a little longer on his throne. What a small number the Minotaur ate in comparison—and we talk of progress! A partizan and friend of L. N. said the other day before me, “Well, *cela renouvelera dans une quinzaine d'années.*” “Not near so long,” says another.

I shall be in London some time in the beginning of June.

Believe me,

Yours very truly obliged,

MARY MOHL.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

DEAR GLADSTONE,

8, St. James's Street,
June 4, 1866.

It has very probably struck you, but there can be no harm in calling your attention to the marked contra-

* Between Prussia and Austria.

diction between Lowe's last speech,* and his former speeches, in which he prophesied that the constitution would be destroyed by a working-class majority.

In his last speech, after showing that only very rich men could stand for counties, he went on to state that, under the grouping system, only rich men would be able to represent boroughs. It would be "plutocracy working on democracy." In other words, capitalists would get in by dint of money influences—in which case they would represent their own breeches-pockets as ——— and ——— do now. They would be the very last men to carry out the views of trade unions, or to pass any laws of socialist character. They might make a bad set of representatives unmixed, or mixed only with county members. But they would not be a *democratic* assembly, in Lowe's former understanding of the phrase. In Bain's 'Manual of English Composition and Rhetoric,' p. 160, I find :—"Plato's doctrine, that the body obstructs the soul, is combatted by Kant through the simile of a dove cleaving the thin air, and supposing that in a vacuum its movements would be more rapid." This is the metaphor applied by Lowe to parties. No one seems to know what he quoted from when he concluded with

"To-morrow
Spare it, oh, spare it."

But it is curious that Lord Eldon, in his maiden speech on Fox's India Bill, introduced the British Constitution exclaiming with Desdemona, "Kill me to-morrow," &c., that the House laughed at him, and that he was

* On the 31st May, on the adjourned debate on Capt. Hayter's resolution, in which he ended by making a vehement and most eloquent protest against the democracy, whither he believed the Government were leading the country. Mr. Gladstone's reply to Mr. Lowe was not the less telling, for having received this letter from Mr. Hayward.

terribly quizzed by Sheridan. What was a ludicrous failure in his case is a grand success in Lowe's.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

8, St. James's Street,
June 25, 1866.

DEAR LADY EMILY,

I am sorry I could not come to your party on Saturday. I was at Strawberry Hill, from which I have just returned with the Gladstones. There were four members of the Cabinet there, who kept such a watch on one another that even Lady Waldegrave could get at nothing definite, except that we are to have no revelations till they have seen the Queen,* who is to be at Windsor at nine to-morrow.

I do not think they meditate dissolution, and I have a notion that Lord Derby will be consulted before things settle down. Somehow or other, I fancy, they will remain.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

The following letter was written to Lord John Manners on the occasion of the attack made by the *Times* on Lord Derby's offer to Lord John of the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland. "It is noticeable as a proof of Mr. Hayward's superiority to mere political partisanship, for at that time he was strongly opposed to Lord Derby's party."† In, fact it is an instance of how inde-

* Lord Russell's Government, having been defeated in committee on Lord Dunkellin's amendment to the Reform Bill, resigned on the 18th of June. There was at one time a doubt whether the Queen would accept their resignation.

† Private MSS.

pendent he was of of all claims but such as truth and justice demanded from him. Lord John Manners, too, had long been a personal friend of his, and he could not rest still and hear him calumniated.

Mr. Hayward to Lord John Manners.

8, St. James's Street,

July 4, 1866.

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,

At the risk of being thought presuming or indiscreet, I must enter my protest (not, I trust, a solitary one) against the gross injustice done to you for the second time this morning in the *Times*. When I heard of your appointment, I was simple enough to think it a very good one, both in a public and in a party point of view. Your liberality of tone, especially on religious matters, struck me as especially adapted to calm the fears roused by the return of the ultra-Protestant party to office ; and for the life of me I cannot understand how you can be less fit as regards judgment, knowledge or experience of affairs, than the best of the dukes or marquises who have hitherto been named as duly qualified candidates ; in fact, I should consider you a great deal more fit.

Hearing and seeing a good deal also, I utterly deny that the announcement was received unfavourably.

This sort of attack does no real harm to any one, but it provokes me in my own despite.

Believe me, dear Lord John,

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

On the 12th of June, 1866, the Bund "ordered federal execution against Prussia. Prussia responded, June 15, by declaring war against Hanover, Saxony, and the Electorate of Hesse, the three States which had assumed

a hostile attitude to support the Bund. The war manifesto of Austria was on the 17th, that of Prussia on the 18th, that of Italy (against Austria and Bavaria) on the 20th.* In the following letter, there is an interesting account of the part taken by Hanover in the commencement of the war which made Bismarck virtually master of the smaller States of Germany.

Sir Charles L. Wyke† to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Hanover, July 9, 1866.

We have been in such a turbillon of war, intrigue, negotiations, and I was going to rhyme by "violations," that it has been impossible for me to reply to a very amusing letter you sent me some three weeks ago. Now that the tide of war has rolled away from this poor little kingdom to go surging up in waves of blood on the plains of Bohemia, I have time to write to you about our small misfortunes here, which are overlooked in the far more exciting news you read at your breakfast-table every morning of the War of the Giants now going on, perhaps at the gates of Vienna. The success of Prussia is wonderful, and it is evidently owing to two things: first of all the needle-gun, which shoots down all opposition at the rate of six to one; and secondly to some genius,‡ whose name will hereafter become known, who

* "Prince Bismarck." 'Eminent Statesmen and Writers,' by A. Hayward. (Murray, 1880.)

† Her Majesty's Envoy at Hanover when the war broke out; recently British Minister at Lisbon.

‡ Von Moltke. At this time Moltke's name was not known as a military genius; but Sir Charles's prediction was destined to be fulfilled a few years later. Moltke began his career in the Danish army, and when a young Lieutenant he applied to the late King of Denmark for three years' leave to study his profession on a larger scale in foreign armies. His Majesty refused the application, upon which young Moltke resigned, and entered the Prussian Army.



planned the campaign and had it carried out with an energy and activity beyond all praise.

The first eight days was sufficient to put Prussia in possession of three kingdoms, and the next twenty to prostrate Austria and compel her Sovereign to sacrifice Venetia for the sake of obtaining terms of peace with one opponent and a truce with another, besides the degradation of his being obliged to appeal to L. N. for help and assistance.

This has deeply wounded the pride of the Germans, who in their own lethargic way hate the Man of December as much as — can possibly do, *et c'est tout dire*.

The *Times*, trusting to its Berlin correspondent, who must have picked up his information in some "*Bierkeller*" *Unter den Linden*, does not render justice to the Hanoverians, but on the contrary tries to sit down on them by siding with the strong against the weak.

The Hanoverian episode was a very brilliant one for the honour of the King and his gallant little army, at the head of which the blind King placed himself and fought and *won* the battle of "Langensalza."

The Hanoverian force consisted of 16,000 men and 40 guns, against 17,000 Prussian Infantry, 24 guns, and three squadrons of Cavalry. The action began at 10 A.M. and lasted till past 3 P.M., when the Prussians were in full flight throwing away their needle-guns in all directions, and leaving 800 prisoners in the hands of the Hanoverians. The King of Hanover slept that night in the head-quarters of the Prussian army, which, as before said, was in full retreat. Next day the railroads had brought up 50,000 Prussians, and the King, thus surrounded, was obliged to accept a very honourable capitulation, the terms of which you have seen in the newspapers.

This is the only *victory* yet won in this war against the Prussians, and these details should be known to

counteract the lies of the Berlin *Times* correspondent, who, taking the Prussian view of the question, endeavours to turn the poor King into ridicule.

I am so busy that I have only time to scribble you these few lines.

Remember me kindly to all our friends, and

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

C. L. WYKE.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Stanhope.

Bodryddan, Rhyl,

Aug. 3, 1866.

DEAR LORD STANHOPE,

I am writing an article* for the *Edinburgh Review*, in the course of which I touch on the authenticity of busts and portraits of historical people. Which do you consider the oldest of the well-authenticated portraits in the Portrait Gallery (your own institution) or the Kensington Collection? I was inclined to think, that prior to the Tudors there was nothing quite reliable, but Goldwin Smith believes in the portraits of Edward IV. and Richard III. When I say authentic, I mean likenesses from life.

You are always so ready to aid with your learning and research, that I am tempted to ask another question. Where is there any account of the contest for the right of way through Richmond Park?—in the time of George the First, I think.

I have just heard from Cardwell. Nothing new. Lord Malmesbury mentioned for Paris. I had rather it was you, on public, not private grounds.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

* On Mons. de Feuillet de Conches' 'Causeries d'un Curieux.' This article, entitled "Varieties of History and Art," was republished in 'Biographical and Critical Essays.' Vol. ii. (Longmans, 1873.)

Lord Stanhope to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

Chevening, Aug. 7, 1866.

Here is Mr. Scharf's * answer, which I think will yield you in a very satisfactory manner all the desired information. You may also notice a short article on the same subject in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of yesterday.

On the other hand, I am not able to trace anything further as to the footpaths in Richmond Park in the days of George the Second.

We are greatly shocked at the sudden death of our neighbour and friend Lord Camden, who was found dead in his bed yesterday morning. He leaves eight daughters—motherless, and all unmarried.

Ever yours faithfully,

STANHOPE.

Mr. G. Scharf to Lord Stanhope.

National Portrait Gallery,

29, Gt. George Street, Westminster, S.W.,

MY DEAR LORD,

Aug. 6, 1866.

I have just returned from a delightful visit of two days at Petworth, where I was fortunate enough to find Mrs. Percy Wyndham; and also from a pleasant morning at Arundel Castle, where the Duchess of Norfolk had ordered everything to be laid open for my inspection.

With reference to your inquiry of Saturday's date respecting the earliest and most authentic portraits, I venture to make the following statement.

The earliest portrait in our Gallery is Richard the Third. It comes next in quality to the one at Windsor Castle, which is clearly genuine, although both have

* Mr. George Scharf, F.S.A., the Secretary and Superintendent of the National Portrait Gallery.

suffered much from repainting, and occasional damage to the original paint lying underneath. I am also quite sure of the genuineness of the royal portrait of Edward the Fourth—I mean the one left at Windsor, for the Kensington authorities selected an inferior and much smaller picture, and their Edward III. is also an unfair selection, as better pictures remain behind at the Castle and the Deanery. The most genuine portrait of Edward III., and the earliest painting of the series of Kings, was in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster—unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1834, but careful copies were taken from it in 1812 for the Society of Antiquaries.

Our second earliest picture is Cardinal Wolsey, which although poor as a painting is certainly superior to the Christ Church one.

The really earliest and finely painted portraits at South Kensington are the Sir John Donne by Memling (No. 18) and Edward Grimston by Petrus Christus (No. 17). These were unquestionably painted from the life.

They have, moreover, the advantage of being by artists of considerable distinction in the history of Art.

The Queen's portrait of King Henry IV. (No. 10) I have great faith in, as far as a genuine transcript of his features and costume are concerned. The repetition (No. 13) notwithstanding the indiscriminate praise bestowed by Horace Walpole, is worthless. It is merely a modern copy, clumsily and ignorantly done, by some dashing artist adopting the technical processes of the school of Rubens. The hands are clumsy, and the position of the fingers altered. The heraldic ornaments on the flat part of the frame surrounding it are simply ridiculous.

The portrait of Henry VIII. in our Gallery is painted on copper, and a good repetition of Holbein's type of Henry's head in his earlier years. The Cardinal Pole recently purchased is curious, and boldly painted like the Wolsey picture. Our Sir Wm. Butts is in finer preservation

than the one at South Kensington (No. 110). It is not painted over, and is extremely delicate. Perhaps the enclosed list may afford some incidental information, and at least point out a few errors of nomenclature.

I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE SCHARF.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

8, St. James's Street,

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,

Aug. 15, 1866.

I am glad you like the article.* I have just finished another for the next number on the Reform Demonstration and the Park question,† which people have been trying to turn against Reform. It is curious to mark how arbitrary notions have been gaining ground of late years. The Derby people are beginning to find out that they can't stand as an anti-reform Government, and are speculating on the best mode of gaining time. They feel, also, that they cannot rely on the Adullamites. What Lowe wants is a broad basis or coalition Government, and I do not think he would object to upsetting the present. I have just returned from Flintshire (S. Conway's). Lord R. Grosvenor cannot (I think) be shaken, but Mainwaring's seat is to be contested.

I entirely agree in what you say of the House of Commons and the Liberal party, which is neutralised by the individual crotchets of its members. I wish I could see my way to any question that could consolidate them.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

* "The Ministry—Last and Present." *Fraser's Magazine*, August 1866.

† During a Reform demonstration on July 23, the Hyde Park railings were torn down by the mob who had been refused admittance into the Park.

Mr. Hayward to Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell.

MY DEAR STIRLING, Pencarrow, Bodmin,
Sept. 23, 1866.

The Danish Minister and his wife, Baron and Baroness Bulow, leave this to-morrow for London, and think of going on to the Seafields at Balmacaan. They think of stopping at Stirling, or somewhere near Loch Lomond, for a day or two. If so, would you and Lady Anna be disposed to extend your all-embracing hospitality to them? They both talk English, and are very pleasant—she particularly. I never propose an introduction unless I think it would please both parties. Their halt would be on their backward journey. I have been here* three weeks with a shifting and agreeable party, the Marquesa de Molines the head of it, though rivalled in a different line by Miss Harvey. I have utilized my visit by writing an article on Feuillet de Conchés' 'Causeries d'un Curieux' for the *Edinburgh Review*, and one on Lord Combermere for *Fraser*. Lowe has been here with Northcote. Lowe very open on all things. Liberal as ever in all but Reform, which (he says) he will oppose to the death in every shape. Northcote against a Bill, but Disraeli is for one. With compliments to Lady Anna,

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell.

MY DEAR STIRLING, Athenæum, Oct. 24, 1866.

I suppose you heard that the Bulows were prevented from going to Scotland by the arrival of their King.

* Mr. Hayward used to say that he would write an article for a magazine with as much facility at Pencarrow (Lady Molesworth's) as in London, on account of the splendid library in the house, which was always up to date.

But you have done the civil thing, as the Duchess of Kingston said to her daughter when they were too late for church.

There seems a general belief that the Government must bring in a Reform Bill, and that they will bring in a liberal one so far as borough franchise is concerned. If I were Lord Derby, I would do nothing of the sort. But he will be led by Dizzy. I dined in company with Lord Stanley, and walked away with him last week. He told me that his position was like that of a man at the bow of a vessel in the crowded part of the river, with a pole and a great ball of tow at the end of it to soften or prevent collision. He said he felt confident as regards Europe, but uncertain touching the United States. I should collect from him that they have settled nothing as to Reform yet. The first Cabinet is on the 31st of this month. I dined with Lady Palmerston yesterday; family, Azeglio, Odo and George Russell only. She really is just the same as ever, and talked quite composedly of Lord P. Lord Clarendon is teased and weakened by boils. Our Athenæum *society* is flourishing: Kinglake, Strzelecki, Storcks, Wyke, Carnegie, being here a good deal. Froude talks of going to Jamaica for six months. Dasent tells me there is to be a batch of peers, headed by Sturt. Merivale has reviewed *Cæsar* in the *E. R.* which contains what I think a bad article on Renan, Strauss, and *Ecce Homo*. How the pious people can take this last to their bosoms puzzles me. It is flat Unitarianism—the best of it borrowed from Renan, *i.e.*, that idealising the human character of Christ. With compliments to Lady Anna,

Ever truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Lady Clanricarde to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

Portumna, Nov. 4, 1866.

I can hardly think that the Government can have come to any decision *against* trying to settle Reform. For they must feel as we do, that in such case they would surely and *speedily* be turned out : and I think they must also perceive, that there is an increasing willingness on the part of the Liberals to give any Government Reform Bill a fair hearing. If they, the Government, should do nothing, they will not only lose power, but they will go out as avowedly incapable of coming in again. I don't think they can mean this.

Bright's failure here* will be a help to them, and indeed to all those who wish for order and good moderate government. But I doubt if the Tories see how to make use of the fiasco. Bright's first speech was a sort of thing to be classed with some of those speeches made during the famine, when the people were assured that the Tower of London was a place full of golden guineas, which the Queen could give them if her Ministers allowed her. And his explanatory discourse to the mechanics on Friday did nothing to retrieve him, but rather brought out proofs that Stephens† was the sort of man *they* wanted, not Bright. The people have found nothing to *grasp* or fix their minds upon in his suggestions, and I fancy he will be soon forgotten.

The *Freeman* (the chief Roman Catholic Paper) with a surprising natveté published the seventeen answers of the seventeen Roman Catholic Bishops and Archbishops, refusing to attend the dinner ; and as there was no *reason* given in any one letter, and in many not even an excuse (though there were civil expressions as to Bright person-

* Mr. Bright visited Ireland in October, and at a banquet given to him by the Dublin Liberals in the Rotundo, dwelt upon the evils of Ireland.

† The Fenian Head-centre.

ally) they only showed how completely a *parti pris* it was with the Hierarchy not to countenance him. Had Dillon been alive this blunder would have been avoided, as he would have known the feelings of the Bishops and would have refrained from inviting them. I don't think the whole affair has even had the effect of increasing the circulation of any of the Dublin newspapers. Indeed, yesterday I saw a Roman Catholic gentleman of our neighbourhood, who told me he had just written to the *Freeman* to say he should no longer take it, so disgusted was he with what they had written in favour of Bright.

There is but one opinion as to the mistake (to use a mild word) of the late Irish Attorney-General in attending the dinner.

I am very much struck with the *tone* of the *Times* in its comments upon Bright ; the *matter* is good, but there is a delicacy of touch which appears to indicate that the present Government is not thought secure. If this last week's doings had happened anywhere but in Ireland, I think they would have very seriously damaged Bright's power ; but they will be put out of sight and out of mind with all other Irish matters as much as possible, and will work neither good nor evil, I suppose, in the end.

The harvest here is much better than we expected, and the people don't grumble much. Nobody about us thinks of Fenians—but then they never did.

I see Lord Russell will inaugurate the advent of Victor Emmanuel at Venice. I don't like the look-out of foreign matters. If Bismarck lives we shall have troubles.

Lord C. is sending for the *Review*, to read your article on Lord Combermere.* I believe he was much more of a hero than any man padded, and wearing stays, might be supposed to be.

Yours sincerely,

H. CLANRICARDE.

* *Fraser's Magazine*, Nov. 1866.

Mr. Hayward to Sir Charles Wheatstone.

DEAR WHEATSTONE,

Athenæum Club,
Nov. 8, 1866.

If the date* is material, I can bear witness to the fact, that you were eagerly occupied with the subject of telegraphic communication by electricity so long ago at least as the autumn of 1835. On arriving at Dublin soon after the meeting of the British Association there, I joined a party to visit some of the celebrated spots in the county of Wicklow.† It consisted of Babbage, Whewell, Macdonald (Dean of Trinity College, Dublin), you and myself. The excursion occupied two days; the conversation was among the best I ever heard; and your project, or theory of an electric telegraph, was the topic which (as it struck me) especially called forth the varied knowledge, intellectual grasp, and singularly-contrasted powers of Babbage and Whewell. I considered myself extremely fortunate in forming one of such a company, and I have consequently retained a distinct recollection of the principal incidents of the expedition. You can use this note as you think fit.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. A. Graham Dunlop to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR SIR,

Cadiz, Dec. 10, 1866.

I wrote you a line from Seville (on Sunday), from whence I have just returned. I wish it were in my power to afford you any information of value regarding Spain, but you have already so well studied the "Iberian

* A question had arisen as to Sir C. Wheatstone's claim to be regarded as the inventor of the Electric Telegraph.

† *Vide ante*, Vol. I. p. 53.

problem," that you probably know much more than I do regarding its solution.

Affairs in Spain have so long been in a bad way that it is difficult to form an *expectation* of the future—far or near. The "wolf" has been so often announced, that people seem to fancy he will never really come; and I am sometimes tempted to hope, that if he *does* come in the form of a serious revolution, his bark will be worse than his bite, and that whatever great changes may take place may be comparatively bloodless. There is no doubt that, had the present Sovereign of Spain been a man (and not a woman), the dynasty would have long ago ceased to reign; but the very failings and vices of Isabella have tended to keep her on her throne. Though she is the sport of factions and Court intrigue, every ambitious aspirant around her never forgets that Her Majesty's smile and favour (or rather favours) *may* lead him on to fortune, and he won't help to kill the goose which lays the golden eggs for so many; for he trusts to the chances befriending *him*—in the same way and as well as others before him.

There has been a serious *palace émeute* lately, and I am credibly informed that the King spoke his mind more freely than he ever did before of his doubts—(certainty) respecting the paternity of the Queen's children:—it is an old dish served up with stronger sauce, but people in the South of Spain consider it as poisonous for the Bourbon existence. If the Queen die or abdicate, her children have small chance of succeeding, and the ignorant jealousy of all Spaniards against strangers will induce them to reject the Montpensiers and *their* children, of whose legitimacy no doubt exists, and thus play the game of France—a game she plays as keenly (though more silently) than she did in the days of Louis XIV. Were any very lengthened troubles and risings to occur in Spain, the Emperor of the French

would inevitably cross the passes of the Pyrenees, and keep these hills and the mountain frontier in his hands till he could do something tangible and material for France. French rule would not be *much* more unpalatable in Catalonia and Biscay than Bourbon rule. Arragon would be obliged to follow in *their* steps, and keeping in mind the ancient French brag of levelling the Pyrenees—we must *now* always remember that the Empress of the French is Spanish and her son a grandee of Spain, eligible by the Spaniards for any post in the country.

I was in hopes last March, when I wrote the long blue-book report (published in May), that O'Donnell's influence in the palace was then increasing, and that affairs in general throughout Spain were improving; indeed, they were so then. But the Camarilla influence in the palace was too much for O'Donnell, and the Queen behaved with abominable ingratitude to him who had in reality saved the throne *twice*. At that time, too, it was supposed by the Spanish reactionists, that a *turn* was being taken in favour of a continued occupation of Rome by the French, of a renewed disturbance in Naples and Sicily against Victor Emmanuel, and of a coming triumph to Despotical Government by the (supposed) *certainly* of Austrian troops vanquishing Prussia. The Queen is "anti-constitutional" at heart; the wish was father to the thought and act; and when Austria defied Berlin, Isabella fancied that the "good old time" was coming back again fast, kicked out O'Donnell, took back Narvaez and the priests, and only awoke from her dream when the battle of Sadōwa decided the fate of the Hapsburgs in Germany.

As to the finances, nothing could be worse now, and unless they very soon settle with the Bourses and Stock Exchanges of Paris, London, Amsterdam, &c., I cannot see what they will be able to do to carry on. The taxes

are all paid *in advance* for (I think) about seven months, and *are spent*. They may find difficulty in paying the January dividend, without having recourse to a loan; and where they are to get it, Heaven knows! If Narvaez remains in power, and the army keep true to him (?) (?), he may scramble through his difficulties by carrying out the proposed financial policy of O'Donnell's Cabinet, and *settling* the foreign claims; but Narvaez is an obstinate old man, and my impression is *at present* that he will only do this under great pressure.

I am constrained to take thus a gloomy view of the position of the Spaniards just now. The country is *not* so prosperous as it was a year ago; there is less commerce—the *exceedingly* strict quarantine regulations bring this about, and they have been very severely insisted on for a full year. The great want in Spain is *population*; there are barely 15,500,000 souls in Continental Spain, which leaves probably about 4,000,000 of working men in a land which requires about 10,000,000 to work it! this point is too little considered in treating of *all* Spanish topics. Then the ignorance of the masses, and their absence of any wish to know more, keeps everything back, and, with the Spanish temperament, will always do so. Nothing strikes one more than the difference in this respect—desire of knowledge—between the Spaniard and the Italian, Sicilian, or Greek. Here it materially retards everything, and it is impossible at present to foresee all its evil consequences direct and indirect. If the Spaniard remain any longer as he is, in spite of railways and increased intercourse, the commerce of the sea-board will more and more slip away into the hands of foreigners, French, German, Swede, English, and the pure race (native) will fall back on the interior, and inland villages, hewers of wood and drawers of water.

I do not think there is any "future" (*avenir*) for the Spaniard (unmixed).

I hear that the Protectionist party of Catalonia has got Narvaez completely under its thumb ; they threaten serious and rigorous "pronunciamientos" should he whisper a reduction of tariff, and this he will scarcely like to face.

It is not for a Consul to allude to the policy of his country, otherwise than very cursorily. For fifty years we have allowed Madrid to do much as it liked in the Iberian Peninsula, although Lisbon is powerful and respectable, consistent in friendship for us, and our interests and customs, and advancing in prosperity ; and although we possess Gibraltar, the most valuable position (= province) in Iberia, although we have about three millions pounds sterling invested by British subjects in Andalusia, we have permitted the seizure of the Morocco coast, and the establishment there of Spanish strongholds which may turn out troublesome and dangerous ; I am obliged to suppose that all this is right and good ; but as regards the Spaniards *themselves*, this deferential policy on our part has had injurious action ; they are a little spoiled by it, or rather *not* a little—and they believe that *whatever* they do, we shall ever remain the same indulgent, self-sacrificing friends.

With all this "haute politique," I have nothing to do officially, and may merely notice events and their results. There are, among the Spaniards themselves, persons of observation and reflection, who do not hesitate to say that a more guiding, ruling, and dictatorial policy on *our* part would have been better for Spain, ever since 1815, although it might have occasionally wounded Spanish vanity ; but they may not have judged aright (?). These are a few remarks of which you will excuse the desultoriness, but which peradventure may explain my thoughts and views on Spanish affairs, as they *just at present* exist. I shall write a notice on Spanish finance (a very brief one), for the F. O. in February ; but my

Consular Report for 1867 will more immediately refer to the Tariff.

I saw the Duke de Montpensier on Saturday, but did not converse with him on politics or serious matters ; he is a very superior and clever man. It is a pity he is condemned by Spanish jealousy to a life of inaction.

Most faithfully yours,

A. GRAHAM DUNLOP.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

8, St. James's Street,

Jan. 2, 1867.

DEAR LADY EMILY,

If Longfellow is in England, he has kept himself very close, for none of the literary men seem to have heard of him. I have asked Kinglake, Froude, Merivale, and others.

Both literature and politics are flat. The belief is that there is to be no Bill,* but I doubt whether anything is decided. So does Delane. Arthur Russell writes from Rome that he has seen a great deal of Gladstone, who will not open his mouth on English politics, and reads Dante every morning to his daughters. The Pope was disappointed in *him*, charmed with Lord Clarendon, and bored by ——. So —— states. Cardwell has been very generally mistaken for a Saint, from his grave look.

I was at Broadlands the week before Christmas. Lady Palmerston is better than she has been these three years. Her anxiety during the last year of Lord Palmerston's life was very wearying.

I was to have gone to Wilton to-day, but have been obliged to delay my journey till to-morrow by the snow. I spend next week at Strawberry Hill. Have you read *L'Affaire Clémenceau*—pleasant and wrong. There is an

* Reform Bill.

article of mine in the last *Edinburgh Review*, "Varieties of History and Art," which might amuse you. Best regards to Sir Robert, and believe me,

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

DEAR GLADSTONE,

8, St. James's Street,

Jan. 31, 1867.

Perhaps you or Mrs. Gladstone may like to see my article on Lady Herbert.* I also send one written on politics at the beginning of this month, but still equally applicable.

The Cave has split already. Elcho, Lord Grosvenor, heading one section with Lowe and Horsman; Beaumont, Dunkellin, &c., with the other: the numbers about equal. Elcho showed me the prospectus of a new paper he and Lord Grosvenor are about to set up. Lord Clarendon spoke in the strongest manner at Strawberry Hill against the notion of your giving way to any one after Lord Russell † (thrown out in the *Edinburgh Review*); and in fact, from all I have heard amongst Liberals of all grades, I am at a loss to know how — blundered on such a suggestion.

Beaumont and Co. would vote for an immediate settlement of the Reform Question. This he told me. Elcho will consent to no reduction of the franchise.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

* Lady Herbert's 'Impressions of Spain' was reviewed by Mr. Hayward in the *Fortnightly Review* for February 1867.

† After the resignation of his Ministry in 1866, Lord Russell announced that Mr. Gladstone would in future be the leader of the Liberal party.

Mr. Hayward to his Sisters.

MY DEAREST SISTERS,

Feb. 13, 1867.

Nothing can be tamer than the recommencement of the Session—no stir and no interest. The accounts of Lord Derby are such that there is no chance of his reappearance on the scene for some time, and the odds are that he will soon retire.* Disraeli is playing for Premiership, but I think it will end in the Duke of Richmond as nominal head.

Gladstone has not resolved on any course as yet. The story of his motion meditated against the Irish Church is a mere guess, though eventually he may resolve to bring on the question.

Ever yours affectionately,

A. HAYWARD.

Lord Monck to Mr. Hayward.

Spencer Wood, Quebec,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

July 19, 1867.

I have not a word to tell you that you would care to hear, except perhaps that I and mine have got safely to this side of the Atlantic, and I only write to draw upon your well-tryed good-nature by asking you to give me a line before the end of the Session, to tell me what you think of the state of parties, and of the condition of the political atmosphere generally.

My interest in the subject is a good deal quickened by the circumstance, that I have been officially notified that I am to be relieved of my present duties next July (1868), so that it is an object to me to ascertain what will then probably be the state of things.

I see, by the last telegrams, that the Reform Bill has

* He did so in February 1868.

passed the House of Commons, so that I am afraid you will have to pay your money.

My new "dominion"* was "inaugurated on the first." The day was observed as a holiday all through the country, and if the feelings of the people towards the measure of Union are to be interpreted by the manner in which they welcomed its advent, it must be pronounced eminently popular.

I only hope it may work well, and I think it will do so.

Pray remember me (as the soldiers' letters say) to all enquiring friends, and believe me,

My dear Hayward,

Most truly yours,

MONCK.

Lord Cardwell to Mr. Hayward.

74, Eaton Square, S.W.,

Aug. 20, 1867.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

I have been wanting to see you, but an ex-Minister in July is like an emancipado in Cuba: being no one's slave in particular, he is everybody's in general; and what with Ritual Commissions and various Committees, &c. &c., I have had no time to spare.

My object was to ask you if you would like to write an article for the October *Quarterly*? † and if so, whether you think you could get Dr. Smith to insert it? Cranborne may possibly have something in hand; but it seems to me that the best thing would be a review.

* Lord Carnarvon's Bill for the Confederation of the North-American Provinces of the British Empire was passed in March 1867, and the Dominion of Canada, of which Lord Monck was the first Governor-General, came into existence on July 1st.

† Mr. Hayward did not write the political article in the October *Quarterly*, nor, it may be stated, did he ever write a *political* article in that Review.

of Cranborne's* own speech on the third reading of the Reform Bill, which would branch out naturally into all the topics of the time.

Your own memory and skill are such as to need no aid from any one. But I think I could suggest one or two points, which have struck me, and which would be of some use.

I am going down to-day to take possession of Eastney House near Godalming, which I hope to make comfortable. While that process is going on, I shall go northwards for three or four weeks, and later in the autumn I hope you will come and see me.

Cranborne and R. Palmer, among others, will be my neighbours.

I shall not start for the north till quite the end of next week, and if you will be in town any day next week, and would like to see me, I will come up and meet you.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD CARDWELL.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave.

MY DEAR LADY WALDEGRAVE, 8, St. James's Street,
Sept. 24, 1867.

It seems, and is, a long time since I heard from you. I have been ten days in town, after a month in the country, and find it by no means dull. I have just been talking with Lord Cranborne, who has been touring in Normandy whilst Hatfield has been the scene of festivity. *His* notions and dispositions are certainly not changed. Odo Russell, also, is just passing through town from Hatfield to The Grove. He says that nothing political has transpired, either as to the meeting of Parliament or any other topic. If they call Parlia-

* The present Lord Salisbury.

ment together in November, * it will be from fear of responsibility not want of money, and they are in great alarm of the probable failure. My notion is, that if the expedition goes on, they *will* call Parliament together.

So far as my observation goes, the Tories are not jubilant about the Reform Bill. Their tone in private is uniformly apologetic. There are to be political articles against them in the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh*, and I shall put their delinquencies carefully on record in the November *Fraser*. †

I have written an article on Miss Edgeworth's Memoirs for the *Edinburgh Review*, ‡ and one of Sir H. Bulwer's forthcoming book § for the *Quarterly*; pretty well for a man *qui s'amuse*. Bulwer's book is not quite finished, and my article will precede it.

I am rather thinking of going to Paris for a few days, but am afraid of the cold, for Paris is always open-air life.

I met the Queen of Holland at Lady William Russell's the other evening. There were only Poodle Byng and Lady Abercorn there besides myself—Byng much changed since you saw him. I have also dined with Delane, who is or was hesitating between Vienna, Scotland, and Spain with the Duke of Wellington. Tell Mr. Fortescue I rely on him for the promised help as to Ireland. Froude writes that he has furnished materials for an article on the Irish Church to —, who has made

* Parliament met on the 19th of November, to sanction the "Abyssinian Expedition."

† "The Conservative Transformation." *Fraser's Magazine*, Nov. 1867.

‡ "Maria Edgeworth: her life and writings." *Edin. Rev.*, Oct. 1867. 'Biographical and Critical Essays.' Vol. i., p. 130. (Longmans, 1873.)

§ Sir Henry Bulwer's 'Historical Characters' was reviewed by Mr. Hayward in the October *Quarterly Review*.

a poor use of them. It will be one of the earliest subjects.

Believe me

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

O. Russell says that Lord Clarendon was the life of the party at Hatfield.

Lady Strangford had lent Mr. Hayward some papers in her possession relating to Maria Edgeworth, which he was thus able to refer to in the preparation of his article on Miss Edgeworth in the *Edinburgh Review*. In returning these papers to Lady Strangford, Mr. Hayward wrote the following characteristic letter:—

Mr. Hayward to Lady Strangford.

8, St. James's Street,

DEAR LADY STRANGFORD,

Sept. 24, 1867.

I return ——'s and Miss Martineau's letters with the deepest sense of your kindness in trusting me with them. I do not much agree with either lady. Each, it appears to me, strains to say something striking, like the German jumping over the chairs *pour se faire vif*. I am convinced that Miss Martineau's *amour propre* was wounded by the Edgeworths not courting her set, or living principally in a very different one. "Ruined herself in society." In what society? In the society which I remember in Duke Street, Westminster, very probably, certainly in no other. I don't quite take in ——'s theory of *heart*, but I quite understand your being bored by the *morals*; and I have done my best to knock them one and all into next week, as the Yankees would say. The *Edinburgh Review* will be out on the 14th or 15th of October, and I will take care that you shall have an

early copy. London is far from dull, though called empty, so many pleasant people are passing through. I am going to Richmond with Sir Charles Wyke to-day, to dine with Mrs. Lane Fox and Miss Eden. W. Cowper (just returned from Paris) says that the Chassepôt rifle is an admitted failure. This will postpone war.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

MY DEAR GLADSTONE, 8, St. James's Street,
Oct. 17, 1867.

I am writing a political article for the November *Fraser*, and I must try to forecast the political horoscope a little. Do you think there will be any attempt to improve the Reform Bill in the course of the next Session, or will everything, not of pressing interest, be left to the new Parliament? When I say *next* Session, I mean of course the regular one.

There are strong articles against the Government in both the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh*, and I shall begin by showing the mischief done by the manner in which the Bill was passed, independently of the matter. The article in the *Quarterly* is by Lord Cranborne. I do not know the author of the one in the *Edinburgh*. I was last week at Lady Waldegrave's Somersetshire place, with the Duc d'Aumale and Jarnac. *Their* prospects are looking up. The Imperial dynasty is losing ground daily, though it may [last] the Emperor's time, if he does not live too long. I do not think I shall leave town again, except for two or three days at Bocket. Lady Palmerston is looking very well. With best regards to Mrs. Gladstone.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Hayward.

Hawarden,

Oct. 18, 1867.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

I wish I could give you, in return for your letter, any real information on the point to which your query refers. But in truth there are no sufficient *data* for determining or for estimating in any manner what is likely to be done next year in Reform. It is clear that not Scotland only, but Ireland, must have its Bill in the coming Session. It is also, I think, clearly for the public interest that redistribution of seats should be brought to some real settlement before, rather than after, the Dissolution. But it remains quite uncertain what will be the general disposition of the Liberal party upon the point of time, now that the question is so complicated with that of the representation of minorities. Most important of all is my old theme of the compound householder.* How will he bear the cost and trouble to be put upon him? If he chooses to kick, be assured he can kick effectually. But it is not clear how soon he will begin to be galled. He is only liable for rates made after Michaelmas; few of them have yet been demanded; and one of the first ideas which he will clearly embrace is that he need not, so far as the franchise is concerned, pay till July.

The coincidence of *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* is a rare event, but their united power now is, I imagine, less than the single force of either was thirty or forty years ago. I shall be very glad to read your articles. Thanks for your good account of Lady Palmerston. That was a strange blunder about Lord Russell. I suppose you have heard that the names of the D. of Buccleuch and

* The Reform Bill of 1867 abolished the compound householder, but it was largely changed by what was called Mr. Hodgkinson's Clause, (v. *Edin. Rev.*, Oct. 1867,) and rating restrictions were finally swept away by Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1869.

his son were put on Dizzy's list without asking them.*
My wife is just gone to town.

Sincerely yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

MY DEAR GLADSTONE, 8, St. James's Street,
Oct. 19, 1867.

Thanks for your letter. The folly of connecting the franchise with the parochial arrangements is beginning to be very generally felt, and I hear on all sides that the compound householder is alive and kicking. The *Quarterly* is certainly telling against the Derbyites; and the only mode of dealing with them is to show them up in every possible shape.

I had a good deal of talk with Barode, the French Secretary (who had just come from Stanley) this afternoon. A peremptory demand on the Italian Government to enforce the Convention was sent on Wednesday. But the Emperor is in a terrible fix. Niel, and other naval and military members of his Council, insist on his sending a force, if the Italian Government will not. But the course he will pursue is still doubtful.

Delane went to Paris this morning. I suppose he will go on supporting the Government, as long as there is a probability of their holding. I think of going for a couple of days to Cardwell's on Tuesday.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

* For the Conservative Banquet to Mr. Disraeli, at the Edinburgh Corn Exchange, on October 29.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Chichester Fortescue.

8, St. James's Street,
 MY DEAR FORTESCUE,* Oct. 21, 1867.

Your lucubrations are far too good to come in at the end of a rattling attack on the Derbyites, into which my meditated article has resolved itself. I shall write another on probable policy and measures, either for December or January, and I reserve what you have sent me for *that*. It is excellent, and I quite agree in all you say.

My original plan changed as I was writing. The essential thing at present is to complete the exposure of the Derbyites, which can only be done by hitting them again and again.

I shall send my article (if I can get it printed in time) to the *Scotsman* the day before the dinner.†

I have just received a letter from Lord Clarendon, from which I collect (as from Gladstone's) that there has been no sort of concert or even communication yet between Liberal leaders. He wants me to come to The Grove on Saturday, but I can't. It is all I can do to run down for a couple of days to Cardwell's to-morrow.

I still doubt the French Expedition, notwithstanding the confident announcement of the *Times*. I saw Odo Russell at his mother's last night, and he, too, doubted. The Emperor knows that it is as much as his life is worth to break with the Italian Liberals. On the other hand, he cannot afford to be bearded again and do nothing. It is a devil of a position. Best regards to Lady Waldegrave, and with many thanks,

Ever faithfully yours,
 A. HAYWARD.

* The Rt. Hon. Chichester Fortescue, ex-Chief Secretary of Ireland. Created, in 1874, Baron Carlingford.

† To Mr. Disraeli, in Edinburgh, on October 29.

Lord Stanhope to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD, Hôtel Vendôme, Paris,
Oct. 24, 1867.

I was very glad this morning to receive your letter, especially as it enlightened me as to the authorship of the 'Henry Bulwer' article in the *Quarterly*, which article, as it chanced, I had been reading earlier this very day with very great interest and pleasure. It is quite impossible to avoid every trifling error of detail on so wide a range of subjects; and premising this, and having also in view the hope that this article with others may form hereafter a volume of collected Essays, I will venture to observe to you that you are not entirely correct where you say, at page 398, that "Talleyrand was ordered by Napoleon to join the Regency at Blois." I believe you will find that Napoleon knew nothing at all of the escape to Blois. The resolution to make it was adopted during his absence in the direction of St. Dizier, and when the communications between his army and Paris had been cut off by the Allies.

I wonder whether your familiarity with another pen has enabled you to discover it in what I may call the other French article of the same *Review*. The subject of the French retreat from Moscow is of such surpassing interest that I can claim very little merit to myself, if I have made something *qui se laisse lire* from the new materials lately brought to light upon it.

The *Edinburgh Review* which you mention I have not yet seen, but I hope to do so very soon, and I have in my library at Chevening a copy of Miss Edgeworth's Memoirs, which her family kindly gave me.

I was going on about French politics, about which, however, I have not much special information, but find myself called upon by two friends, and hurried off to the Exposition, which is pretty much the hand-to-mouth

style of living just now in Paris. Let me therefore only add a few lines, to ask whether you could give us the pleasure of your company at Chevening next month, arriving on Tuesday the 12th, and staying till the Saturday?

We stay at Paris till next Wednesday, so you will know best, according to the place where this letter finds you, whether your reply would still reach us here; if not, pray direct to me at Chevening.

And believe me,
Ever yours faithfully,
STANHOPE.

Lord Clanricarde to Mr. Hayward.

Portumna, Ireland,
Oct. 27, 1867.

DEAR HAYWARD,

As you are an intimate friend of Henry Bulwer, you doubtless know where he is—at home or abroad. I therefore venture to ask you to direct and forward the enclosed note to him. It relates to a story given in his book, told to him “by a lady diplomatist, of her entering a room of Geo. IV., in which she found Mr. Canning and one of our children on the King’s knee!” I leave the note open for your perusal. I suppose the Review in the *Quarterly* is not by you. If you do it for *Fraser* or any other good magazine, I hope you will correct the improbable as well as impossible tale I alluded to. And I should be glad also to point out the real import of the famous sentence, about redressing the balance of the Old World by calling the New into existence, which has never been explained to the public, or put into history for the benefit of posterity. I suppose the Ministry will not bring any business forward in the coming Session other than Abyssinian.

The selection of Commissioners upon the Irish Church

seems intended to indicate a determination to uphold the Establishment, and the Roman Catholic prelates have done their best to strengthen it for the nonce.

We have very fine weather here, and Lady C. is pretty well, and desires to be kindly remembered.

Sincerely yours,

CLANRICARDE.

Sir Henry Bulwer to Mr. Hayward.

[EXTRACT.]

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Paris (probably), 1867.

In regard to 'Peel'—*

His mind was not a creating one, but a recipient one, which opened gradually to the growing ideas of his countrymen and became by degrees another mind: as the body after a certain period of food becomes another body. But the change did not become visible till complete.

He fulfilled to a State the functions of a clock, which is silent till it strikes, at *the hour*. This was of immense use for the settlement of particular questions, but contrary to the general genius of representative government, since representation is founded on confidence, and confidence can't exist with sudden changes.

This is the sort of spirit of my character.

Ever most sincerely yours,

H. B.

* An allusion to Sir Henry Bulwer's work on "Peel," which he was preparing to add to his 'Historical Characters' (Bentley and Co.), published at this time.

CHAPTER V.

1868, 1869.

Mr. Hayward and the *Quarterly Review*—Mr. Hayward's tract on Junius, correspondence thereon—Mr. Hayward's article on T. Duncombe—Letter from Mrs. Norton, *jeu de mots* of Charlie Sheridan—The Fenian outrages—Mr. Hayward's article, 'The Ministry and the Irish Church'—State of Mr. Hayward's religious feelings—Garden party at Holland House, presentation of Longfellow to H.R.H. Prince of Wales—Letter to Mr. C. Fortescue—Lord Mayo's appointment to the Government of India, his assassination—The fashionable world and the theatres—Criticism of *Quarterly* Articles—Personal regard for Disraeli—Letter from Lord Orford, 'Whist and whist-players'—Letter from Genl. Burgoyne, anecdote—The Irish Land Bill, the position of the Lord Lieutenant—Mr. Hayward's sketch of Lady Palmerston—Letter from Mr. Laurence Oliphant, Austrian policy, state of Hungary, affairs in the East—Letter from Mr. Bernal Osborne, state of Ireland—The Parisian 'Reds'—'Walpole'—Letter from Lord Lytton, remarks on play-writing.

MR. HAYWARD'S correspondence in the beginning of 1868 relates almost exclusively to the paper he published entitled 'More about Junius,' in which he reopened the dispute as to the authorship of the Letters, in order to disprove the claims of Sir Philip Francis, which the appearance of his Memoirs had revived. The criticism of his article was purely destructive, and, as Sir A. Cockburn remarked, successfully demolished the case for the defendant. The different views on this subject entertained by his various correspondents are interesting.

His review in the *Times* of the 'Life and Correspond-

ence of Mr. T. S. Duncombe,' who has been dubbed 'the Radical Alcibiades of Finsbury,' and was intimately associated in his day with the Duke of Brunswick and Louis Napoleon, was the means of eliciting the interesting letters from Lord Lytton and Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, containing widely different estimates of Mr. Duncombe's character and position. His sketch of Lady Palmerston, also in the *Times*, was very acceptable to her family, and was, as Mrs. Norton described it, "*perfect*, in taste, feeling, and style."

In the year 1869, he once more became a regular contributor to the *Quarterly Review*, from which he had almost entirely held aloof since Mr. Lockhart's retirement from the editorship in 1853. Dr. William Smith, an old personal friend of Mr. Hayward, who became editor in 1867, had long looked upon him as the most brilliant of living reviewers, an opinion shared by Lord Lytton, in whose eyes he was "one of the most elegant critics our century has produced." Prevailed upon to write a few desultory articles between 1867 and 1869, Mr. Hayward never afterwards missed contributing to each number as it appeared, until October 1883.* He was not perhaps, a very easy man for an editor to deal with; but the tact, temper, and sagacity displayed on the one hand won compliance and confidence on the other, and the consequence was that Dr. Smith and Mr. Hayward remained firm friends throughout, while the public secured a series of the most brilliant essays ever found in the pages of a leading review.

* Mr. Hayward's last article, written four months before his death, was a review of Marshal Bugeaud, Duke of Isly. (*Quar. Rev.*, Oct. 1883.) He was then eighty-two.

"The *Quarterly* Articles," says the *Times* * of February 4, 1884, "are extraordinarily characteristic of him. Indeed, we can hardly recall any writing of the sort in which the writer's individuality is so perpetually insinuating itself, for 'obtruding' would misinterpret our meaning. He has written of the men of this generation, and one or two past generations, in the fulness of familiar knowledge. Every here and there, when he is sketching some celebrity, and the subject of the sketch may be either an Englishman or a foreigner, we come on a personal experience brought in by way of illustration, or on a remark made in the course of conversation "to the writer." When the biography of any statesman or politician appeared, when there was any book touching upon contemporary history, whether political, social, or literary, Hayward was the very man to review it. "He had met most people; he had heard all about everybody else; and, as one of his intimate friends once remarked, his memory was only too morbidly accurate. . . . So that some of his sparkling essays rest nearly as much on his social successes as on his literary skill."

This rare combination of faculties formed the secret of Mr. Hayward's success, and caused him, in the opinion of so good a judge as the late Lord Houghton, to stand "at the head of our present English essayists."

Lord Stanhope to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

Chevening, Dec. 27, 1867.

Many thanks for the copy of your 'More about Junius.' I am very glad to see your interesting essay in an expanded as well as permanent form; and I thank you for the very kind manner in which you have referred to me several times in the course of it. Let me also

* In its obituary notice of Mr. Hayward.

assure you, that I shall consider the value of my own copy much enhanced by your MS. annotations on the margin.

I do not wonder that divers passages in Francis's life or correspondence should have suggested to you some points for doubts and scruples ; but it surprises me to find you (at page 46) show some inclination to revert to the claim of Lord George Sackville. Lockhart told me, that he considered that claim as blown to pieces by the letter of Sir James Mackintosh to our friend in Albemarle Street ; a letter of which Lockhart added, that it was one of the finest pieces of historical criticism in the English language. I received it as a present from the late John Murray, and inserted it in the appendix to the fifth volume of my History. You would find it well worth referring to, if it should not be present in your mind.

What very heavy reading is the first instalment of M. de Sybel's History in its English dress ! I find that I cannot get on with it at all ; and I am further discouraged by a very clever review expressive of its paradoxes and wild assertions, which I have been reading in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of the 15th instant.

We have no news here, except of a great servants' ball, which we gave last night, and which, I am told, they kept up till near six this morning ! How much pay would you or I have asked as the condition for doing so much ?

Yours very faithfully,

STANHOPE.

Colonel Tomline to Mr. Hayward.

1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

—, 1868.

I have arrived in London, and find your book, which has floored for ever Sir Philip Francis.

I am much obliged to you for it, and read it with great interest.

You may like to know that Sir A. Cockburn,* a good judge, told us at dinner that your reasoning was unassailable; that he had been a Franciscan, but now was thoroughly converted by you; in short, educated by pressure,† but pressure of argument, not pressure of love of place.

Yours truly,
GEO. TOMLINE.

Mr. Hayward to Sir Wm. Stirling-Maxwell.

[EXTRACT.]

8, St. James's Street,

Jan. 9, 1868.

MY DEAR STIRLING,

I send you the *Times* of Tuesday in which the article ‡ appeared. I only got it yesterday, and only returned to-day from the Sebrights.

You see, I have made free use of your communications, as I have told our common friends. The article has been greatly damaged by cutting out passages in nine or ten places, without, as it appears to me, the shadow of a reason. I had mentioned Malmesbury's speech in 1859, in which he said, without a contradiction from a bishop, that the law of honour was a necessary supplement to Christianity. This is cut out. Then I quoted the passage from 'Don Juan':—

"I wish you knew the life of a young noble
They're young, but know not youth," &c.

I had said that "Andrew Marvell would have shrunk

* Sir A. Cockburn, Lord Chief Justice of England.

† In allusion, probably, to Mr. Disraeli's remark, that he had to "educate" his party on the Reform question.

‡ On Mr. Thomas Duncombe.

instinctively from the hero of the *coup a'état*, and would not have touched Duke Charles of Brunswick with a pair of tongs."

A passage about Duncombe's proposed history of the Jews was struck out, and so on. However, the article has been very successful, thanks to you.

Five out of six of the best intellects of my acquaintance think the Franciscan theory rudely shaken, if not demolished: Froude, Arnold, Kinglake, Grote, Dr. Smith, Sir F. Pollock, Cardwell, the Master of Trinity, the Provost of Eton, &c. &c., being of the number. But many of the old Whigs and the Macaulayites take my pamphlet almost as a personal offence. I feel convinced that they will lie and misquote in the *Edinburgh*, unless Reeve does it himself: he would be fair. I fancy it will be done by him, with aid from —, who is neither logical nor fair. I hope you are thinking about Don John.*

I have no news. Best regards to Lady Anna, and believe me,

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Sir Frederick Pollock.

8, St. James's Street,

MY DEAR SIR FREDERICK,

Jan. 14, 1868.

Many thanks for the pamphlet, which I have read with great interest. The similarity of style is certainly very striking, but I still lean to Sackville, and he cannot have written such an attack on himself. The writer, too, praises Lord Granby in a manner which I can hardly reconcile with "Junius." Still, the pamphlet is a most important *pièce justificative*.

* Sir William was then engaged on a 'Life of Don John of Austria,' published after his death.

I find that Sackville, after being at Westminster, entered Trinity College, Dublin (whilst his father was Lord Lieutenant) and was distinguished for his classical attainments. This removes my greatest difficulty. I suspect the *Edin. Rev.* will evade the controversy, and simply back up Macaulay by a side-hit or two. But we shall soon see. At all events, I will resume the subject in the next *Fraser*, and mention the pamphlet. Everybody whose opinion is worth having, and who has examined the matter, agrees with you as to the absurdity of the Franciscan theory.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Lady Palmerston to Mr. Hayward.

Broadlands, Jan. 21, 1868.

Many thanks, dear Mr. Hayward, for your pamphlet about "Junius," which has amused and interested me very much. Several of your objections are startling, but still I am convinced he, Francis, is the man, and his manner, which I remember so well, was quite of a piece with his dashing style of writing.

Thank you for taking up this controversy again. There are so many disagreeable things nowadays in every way, that it is pleasant to be able to take shelter in the past, and I am always very glad to hear from you, so your letters and writings are always welcome.

I hope it is true Panizzi * is getting well, and Livingstone safe, and all the Fenians falling into the nets spread for them.

Believe me,
Yours always very sincerely,
E. PALMERSTON.

* Sir Antonio Panizzi, who succeeded Sir Henry Ellis as Principal Librarian at the British Museum.

Lady Jocelyn is getting a little better. Country air and quiet are great things for her.

There are interesting articles both in the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly*.

Mr. Hayward to Sir Wm. Stirling-Maxwell.

[EXTRACT.]

MY DEAR STIRLING, 8, St. James's Street,
Jan. 23, 1868.

I sent the Duncombe article to Mrs. Norton, with the passages contributed by you marked, in proof of your being restored to vigour and vitality.

"Junius" in the *Edinburgh Review* is simply a hash-up of Merivale's weakest points, and Venables (in the *Saturday*) simply labours to weaken the negative evidence. His point about the date of the autobiography is a mare's-nest. The titles of Marquis are interpolated, and the internal evidence is clear, that the autobiography was written before Francis had got to work in India, clearly not later than 1765. I could make out a capital case for Lord George Sackville if I thought it worth while.* Bulwer's "Guizot" in the *Quarterly Review* is very good. "Phœnicia and Greece" is by Gladstone.

Politics are as dull as ditch-water.

Ever faithfully your

A. HAYWARD.

* It is worthy of remark that, though at this time Mr. Hayward leant towards Lord George Sackville, he afterwards settled down into a belief, that the famous Letters were supplied by "the Grenvilles," but did not come to a conclusion as to which of them, if either, was the actual writer of them. He did not doubt that Pitt *knew* who the writer was.

Mr. W. F. Finlason to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

Temple, Jan. 30, 1868.

I am certainly obliged to you for your very kind note, and for the present of your interesting publication about "Junius." It is a subject on which I have always felt great interest; for my father having conducted my education a good deal on Mr. Lowe's principles, placed the main stress on knowledge of English authors, and among these assigned a high position to Burke and "Junius;" and therefore, while a boy, I could repeat all the finest passages from both.

As to the Franciscan theory, it never satisfied me, and you, I think, have demolished it. How utterly loose and unreliable Lord Campbell was in merely literary matter, the dissection of his 'Lives' by Foss, shows.

Lord Stanhope and Mr. Merivale, not being lawyers, are not sufficiently keen and close in their investigations; and as to Lord Macaulay, he was so rhetorical, that I always regard him rather as a brilliant essayist than a real historian. At all events, as to the authorship of 'Junius,' I think you have entirely demolished them all. One point alone is conclusive. The real "Junius" had "setts,"* and the private letters; the former, at all events, were *meant* for preservation, and would not be destroyed by him, at all events until death. The real "Junius" had them at his death: he either kept them, or destroyed them then. If he kept them they are extant, and their *production* is the only satisfactory proof. If he destroyed them, it must have been because he did not *desire to leave any* trace of the authorship, as a

* On Dec. 17, 1771, 'Junius' wrote to Woodfall, his publisher, "Let me have a sett bound in vellum, gilt and lettered 'Junius I., II., as handsomely as you can. I must also have two setts in blue paper covers. This is all the reward I shall ever require of you."

passage in his letter implies. "I am the sole depository of my secret, and it shall die with me." In either view, Francis *cannot* have been he. For he clearly did desire (if we can at all rely upon his widow) to leave proofs of the secret. Then why did he not leave the conclusive proof? and leave or palm off those which were no proof at all, but only attempts at proof. Any one might have the books *he* left; they don't go beyond, and indeed refuse to be aided by, his final statements. So that it only comes to this, that he said he was the author. But that shows he wished to be so considered, and if he were the author he had the real proofs in his possession, and those he must have suppressed! This train of reasoning, to my mind, is conclusive. But the weight of facts and reasons you adduce in support of your view, to my mind, are overwhelming. I have no definite belief as to who he *was*, but I take it to be clearly demonstrated that he was not Francis.

Thanking you again very much for the pleasure you have afforded me, I remain,

Dear Mr. Hayward,

Your most obliged and faithful servant,

W. F. FINLASON.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

Westbrook, Feb. 19, 1868.

I have to thank you for a copy of your pamphlet on 'Junius.' I should have done so sooner, had I not wished to give it a good reading first. You have, I think, done much to shake the "Franciscan" theory, if not to overthrow it altogether. But your success, in proportion to its degree, replaces us in the age of mystery, and we have to grope our way in search of a new *concrete*. Are you not bound to suggest one yourself? To bring the truth to light is still more glorious than to send error

into limbo. How marvellous it is that the interest of the question should have suffered so little from the lapse of a whole century. It is, perhaps, still more wonderful, that the very peculiar style of "Junius" should not be traceable in the writings or speeches of some one among the most distinguished of his contemporaries. His powers of concealment were evidently great, but he wrote too often and too much to make it likely that he could have adopted and maintained throughout a manner of composition not natural to him. Is it not more probable that the real "Junius" was a man of less note, moving in public life rather as a well-informed observer than as a prominent actor? You know better than I do whether he of the one speech * was such a man, or whether the unknown quantity, the *amari aliquid*, might by possibility be detected in some other Schedoni of the time.

Yours faithfully,
STR. DE R.

Lord Lytton to Mr. Hayward.

[EXTRACT.]

Argyle House, Torquay,
Jan. 10, 1868.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

I think your article on Duncombe excellent, though the last paragraph is perhaps rather too scornfully severe. For, after all, Duncombe ought to be compared with clever men of fashion, not thinkers and statesmen. If his son placed him higher, a critic is within his rights to correct the estimate of the son; but in so doing the critic reverts to the *proper* estimate, and according to that estimate, is Duncombe's life a miserable failure? I own it seems to me a success, compared with the most brilliant

* "Single-Speech Hamilton."

contemporaries of his special order. Take George Anson,* who was very much handsomer, very much more "bon ton," and a very superior man in point of practical ability. But G. Anson never could attain to the same height as Duncombe when they were pitted together in the House of Commons: not a bad jury as between the two. What you say of Duncombe may be said of almost any brilliant faulty creature—even of Sheridan—it is seldom to be said of a dull man. The brilliant creature never is quite up to the mark of his promise; the dull man, if steady, goes far beyond it. Neither you nor I have any interest in crying up the dull men and criticising austere-ly the men who are not dull. For my part, I would rather have a bit of gold immensely alloyed than a lump of lead perfectly pure—you ought to say the same thing. Duncombe had in him a ray of genius, and that is why somebody writes his life, and one of the most elegant critics our century has produced writes an article on the life. I look back to the day when, fresh from College, I saw the established men of fashion, most of whom were clever and even well-read. Tom Duncombe contrived to beat them all; that is genius; if it be not that, what is it? Most of them were of better birth, most of them of better education. Who writes their lives, and if their lives were written, where is a Hayward who would condescend to notice them? No! Duncombe was not a failure: he was an immense success.

Yours sincerely,

L.

Lord Lytton to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Jan. 12, 1868.

I have no doubt that the suffrages are in your favour as to Duncombe's failure; still, the more he is proved not

* The Honourable George Anson.

to have been a success, the less he appears to me to have been a failure.

It is surely no ordinary scamp who can succeed in placing himself in the front ranks of the respectable English public, carry with him a vast constituency,* compel the admiring interest of the House of Commons, assist in giving an Emperor to France, live surrounded by creditors in the enjoyment of every comfort, and leave behind him a name so sure to command the interest of posterity, that he already agitates the mind of Mr. Grote, and inspires the pen of Mr. Hayward.

Truly yours,

LYTTON.

Mrs. Norton to Mr. Hayward.

Frampton Court, Dorchester,

DEAR AVOCAT,

Jan. 1868.

I get dreary in London, so fled back here where I am coated and packed in cotton. I have a constant pain in my side, and consider that I shall shortly be a Saint and Martyr with a halo round my departed head!

Your Duncombe article is most clear, spirited, and true, and I ran my eyes to the end with great eagerness.

The family† say they never knew he had either wife or son!! or who the man is who has published the Memoir!‡

I assure you it was not Lord Alvanley, *but my brother Charlie* who made the jest (or *jeu de mots*) you quote; though immediately after, we heard it attributed (as all witty things were) to Lord Alvanley, and I said *then*

* Mr. Duncombe had been M.P. for Finsbury.

† Her brother, Mr. R. B. Sheridan's, family, in whose house she was staying at this time.

‡ The title-page stated that the 'Memoir' was edited by his son, Thomas H. Duncombe.

"How *sure* they were to give that to a noted wit, instead of *you*, Charlie!"*

Some man (I can't recollect who) said, with a stupid sneer, "*I'd be afraid even to leave my card on him, for fear he'd mark it!*"

"*That would at least depend on whether he thought it a high honour,*" Charlie said very quietly.

But it was said rather in *reproof* of the fling at a man who was *down*, as Lord R. then was.

I have got "More about Junius" with me, and am entirely absorbed in considering the great mystery.

I shall be in town in February. Much remembrance from all here.

Yours ever truly,
C. CLIENT.

Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell to Mr. Hayward.

Keir, Dunblane, N.B.,

Jan. 28, 1868.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Thanks for your letter.

Can it be true that the Queen's Book † has been sold to the extent of 150,000 copies? I should have thought that figure minus the final 0 a large one.

The reception it has met with is the most striking proof of the strength of English love of Monarchy; and even the sneaking love for it amongst the English in Yankee-land, showing that the difference between us and the United States is not so great as some people think it.

* There was an affair at cards which created a scandal. The person concerned used, in dealing at whist, to turn an honour by what is called *sauter le coup*, and having marked the higher honours with his nail, he could see to whom they fell! The repartee was made by Charles Sheridan, Mrs. Norton's brother.

† 'The Early Days of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort.' Compiled under the direction of Her Majesty by Lt.-Gen. the Hon. C. Grey.

I return Lord Lytton's letter. I rated Tom Duncombe rather higher, I believe, than you did, but I am surprised at L.'s view of him. He is particularly unfortunate, in my opinion, in his selection of the "clever man of fashion" to whom he compares him, and whom he considers T. D. beat in the race of life in spite of the superior advantages of the other. First of all, George Anson cannot be said to have "pitted himself" in the House of Commons (for a man cannot be "pitted," in the sense of competing with others, unless he so wills it) with T. Duncombe or any one else, unless I am entirely misinformed as to his career. He never attempted to make a figure there, merely took the subordinate office which his blue Whig blood gave him as a matter of course, and filled it creditably, and held his tongue when his party were out of power. Tom Duncombe, on the contrary, was always speaking; always, in fact, playing the high game of politics and never succeeded in doing anything more than amusing the House. Anson made a handsome income on the turf, kept his head not only above water, but well up in the air both in politics and society; and after having forsworn the army for thirty years, contrived to get done for himself the most monstrous military job of the age, in being sent out as Commander-in-Chief to Bombay or Madras, and soon after promoted to the Commander-in-Chiefship in India.* Poor Duncombe never achieved so much as to get a constituency to believe in him and return him free of cost, but had to the last to pay for his seat in the House through the nose, just as if he had stuck to the Toryism of his family. It is impossible to believe that Duncombe, always in debt and difficulty, would not have been glad, if he could, to have picked up some of the plums of politics; but he could not, and so was driven to his dirty Brunswicks and Bona-

* He died of cholera during the advance upon Delhi in the Mutiny of 1857.

partes for a pittance. Probably the ends and aims of the two men were much the same, equally ignoble ; but the one man died in a magnificent position, the other, having started in life as heir to a good fortune, died a penniless political adventurer who had never succeeded in making anything of politics. If the one career was not success and the other failure, I must look for the meaning of the two words in some other dictionary than that used by George Anson and Tom Duncombe and their kind.

Then L. actually used the word "genius" in connection with Duncombe and his impudent speeches! Where did he ever show it, there or anywhere else? Look at his Journal in America, when he went to visit and support his friend Lord Durham in the very crisis of D.'s pretentious political career. Did any man with the faintest ray of genius ever visit a new continent, the St. Lawrence and Niagara, and a great colony on the verge of rebellion, ruled by a governor in whom he had a strong interest, and keep a journal for three months without a line in it worth quoting or remembering? Tom Duncombe must be contented with the reputation of having been "a smart man," with a good figure and voice, and that kind of reputation for extreme impudence which is attainable by the noisy advocacy of opinions and policy hostile to all his habits and ways of thought and life.

I hope to be in town about the end of next week.

Ever yours very truly,

W. STIRLING-MAXWELL.

During the winter of 1867, 1868, the public mind had been much excited by the repeated *Fenian* outrages that took place, notably by that at Clerkenwell prison. Public attention, moreover, was turned towards the condition of Ireland and to the consideration of the

question of Disestablishing the Irish Church. Mr. Hayward, who had always been an advocate of Disestablishment, wrote an article in *Fraser's Magazine* maintaining his views. Both Lady Clanricarde and Mr. Bernal Osborne, in some very interesting letters, give Mr. Hayward the benefit of their own views upon the condition of their unfortunate country.

Lady Clanricarde to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

Portumna, Jan. 7, 1868.

I am much obliged to you for *Fraser*, and we have read part of your article* with extreme satisfaction. Lord C. desires me to say, that from p. 129 we cordially agree with all that you have written; indeed, your words embody the opinions he has always held, which opinions he, in concert with one or two other persons, is endeavouring to give effect to at the present moment.

I always thought it would be discovered, sooner or later, that *complete* disestablishment and *disendowment* would be simply impossible, and if possible would not produce real religious equality. As the tone of your article is thoroughly partisan, I assume that your Church views must be known to the Government, and encouraged by them.

We have with us a Roman Catholic M.P. of the extreme popular party, who proposes to take an active part upon Irish measures; he, like ourselves, approves entirely of the last part of your article; and I gather from him that he has reason to think some of the higher members of the Hierarchy would be disposed to listen favourably to such views. The fact is, they are at last beginning to see, that complete disendowment must or

* "The Ministry and the Irish Church;" *Fraser's Magazine*, Jan. 7, 1868.

will involve Maynooth,* and they would willingly compromise for an equivalent for that grant. But some of the Ultramontanes are showing strong symptoms of dissatisfaction, and the *Freeman* (Sir J. Gray's paper) has an article of such a nature, that other newspapers copying it have headed it in large type "Threatening notice to Mr. Gladstone." You may remember that, last summer, I showed you an article in the *Freeman*, which ended by assuring its readers that "the grant to Maynooth is as safe as the Queen's Civil List;" and upon that tack it has gone ever since, till some words in the speech of an Irish member of the Government, the other day, gave it a start. I don't know whether the late doings in Cork have attracted your attention, but here is some reliable information as to the state of things there: † "The people, being all Fenians, are forcing the trading community and shopkeepers to become sympathisers, or they will not be dealt with. The election of O'Sullivan, an avowed Fenian, as Mayor of Cork, is a serious matter. He was struck off the Rolls by Chancellor Brewster, and has been put back into the Chief Magistracy by the Town Council, who, being all men in business, were forced by pressure from without to elect him."

Sincerely yours,

H. CLANRICARDE.

Mr. Hayward to Georgiana, Lady Chatterton.

8, St. James's Street,

MY DEAR LADY CHATTERTON,

Feb. 25, 1868.

Reading with me is far from optional, for, my eyes being weak, my reading power is only just sufficient for

* The grant to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth was discontinued when the Irish Church was disestablished.

† On almost the last day of the old year, some Fenians had entered a gunsmith's shop in Cork, and without any opposition possessed themselves of 60 revolvers and 1,500 lbs. of gunpowder.

my own literary work. I really will, however, read your books very soon, and I have no doubt, that like all your books, they are marked by good writing, good feeling, and good sense.

There is no subject on which I have read and thought more than revealed religion, and it is one on which my mind is made up, and which I will never again discuss with any one.

I am the writer of the article on "The Ministry and the Irish Church" in the January number of *Fraser*, and I think that Church the greatest of all possible abuses.

I have just been at a *déjeuner* given by Lady Waldegrave to the Duc and Duchesse d'Aumale, prior to their departure for Sicily. The Jarnacs, Houghton, Vernon Harcourt, Gregory, and Bright were there, and we had really some capital talk.

Ever truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

I see you quote Disraeli. Are you aware, that in one of his most elaborate harangues he said the exact contrary?

Mr. Hayward to his Sisters.

8, St. James's Street,

March 19, 1868.

MY DEAREST SISTERS,

The political excitement is getting up again, and there is to be a motion on the Irish Church, though the announcement of the *Times* is premature; for I was at Gladstone's last night and nothing was settled then. It is more to consolidate the Liberal party than in the expectation of turning out the Government. They threaten an immediate dissolution if beaten, but I regard that as highly improbable.*

Ever yours affectionately,

A. HAYWARD.

* It was on the 23rd of March that Mr. Gladstone gave notice of his resolutions on the Irish Church Question. After a prolonged

In his article on "Holland House," Mr. Hayward has thus written :—"Memorable as are the interchanges of mind between orators and statesmen, artists and authors, in the library, not less memorable will be more than one of those afternoon receptions when the old Dutch garden resembled the garden of Florence in 'Boccaccio,' with its be vies of cavaliers and dames, in the gayest of dresses and the most picturesque of attitudes ; when a table, heaped with fruit and flowers, was placed for royalty and the representatives of royalty in the open air before the refreshment room, where a genuine Neapolitan *acquaiuolo* was plying his craft with the shrill accompaniment of its cries ; when the far-famed Countess of Castiglione moved through the brilliant throng with the air of a goddess ; when the leaders of both Houses were exchanging grave courtesies on the lawn ; when Lord and Lady Russell and Lady Palmerston were talking to the Comte and Comtesse de Paris in a group, which the Prince of Wales had just quitted to engage in animated conversation with Longfellow."

This passage supplies a finished sketch of the scene to which Mr. Hayward alludes in the following letter. A scene which perchance was the complement of that, which in his youth (now half a century back) had dreamed of, as he conned the old books in Mr. Tuson's library.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

DEAR LADY EMILY,

8, St. James's Street,

July 1, 1868.

With all my exertions, I could not come to a clear understanding with Longfellow till this afternoon, at discussion the resolution for the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland was carried by a large majority on the 30th of April. Two months later, Parliament was prorogued and a general election took place.

Holland House. He leaves England on the 10th, and has literally no meal free besides luncheon on Thursday, the 8th, and for that I accordingly engaged him for you. Why did you not come to Holland House? It was very amusing, and it fell to my lot to introduce Longfellow to both the Prince of Wales and the Comte de Paris. The Prince of Wales talked a good deal with him, which was right as regards America.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Chichester Fortescue.

MY DEAR FORTESCUE, 8, St. James's Street,
Oct. 15, 1868.

Froude, who has been two months in Ireland, mostly near Kenmare, says that so far as he saw, the Irish Church question is little thought of in comparison of the Land question; and he knows of nothing that could be proposed in the way of compromise, as the proprietors want to get rid of their small tenants, and the small tenants want to get rid of the landlords.

Lord Lansdowne's manager told him that he could make £25,000 a year out of the property by clearing out the cottiers. The political article in the *Edinburgh* is very good: better than the *Quarterly*. All this steady firing must have some effect. In each, the exposure of Derbyite rascality is complete. Lady Molesworth is to arrive to-day, she writes me. Best regards to Lady Waldegrave.

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

In November Lord Mayo, who had been better known as Lord Naas in political life, was appointed Governor-

General of India. There was an outcry against his appointment, as there generally is when, as Mrs. Norton used to say, "anybody got anything!" Mr. Hayward wrote to congratulate Lord Mayo on his appointment. In his reply, Lord Mayo evinces his determination to make all men speak well of him in the end. We, who know that he fell mortally wounded by the knife of a convicted assassin, as he was passing, one dark February evening in 1872, along the pier of one of the Andaman Islands to his ship, cannot fail to feel an interest, sad though it be, in the brave resolve destined to be so tragically and so soon fulfilled.

Lord Mayo to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Nov. 1, 1868.

Many thanks for your kind note. I did not accept this great office without long and anxious consideration.

I relied more on the opinion of friends who had long worked with me in affairs of magnitude and difficulty, than on any estimate I had myself formed of my fitness for it.

I do not fear for the result, and leave in full confidence that I shall be able to obtain a success that will realise their expectations.

Special information is easily gained, but the knowledge of what people at home who direct public opinion think and feel on great questions is only to be acquired by a long apprenticeship to political life. I should not pretend to say, that I did not feel keenly the virulence of the attacks made upon me. I did not expect them. I was prepared for keen and hostile criticism, but I thought that my long public service would have saved me from personal abuse. However, I bear the authors no malice, for

I know that, if my health does not fail me, I will soon be able to show them they were wrong.

Thanking you again for your good wishes,

I remain,

Faithfully yours,

MAYO.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Lytton.

8, St. James's Street,

Nov. 2, [1868].

MY DEAR LYTTON,

I have been laid up with influenza for some days, so as to prevent my venturing out of an evening, and I go to-morrow to Brighton to see what a change of air will do for me. But, as soon as I return, I will certainly go and satisfy myself, by one more trial, whether such actors as we have at present can give effect to such poetry as yours.

The last time I tried an experiment of the sort was when I went to see "Othello" (got up by Phelps), and the effect was particularly disagreeable. The effects that ought to be produced by the best situation in your play are certainly those resulting from the struggles of the passions, but these depend on good acting and an appreciative audience. I must continue to doubt, till I find the contrary, whether we have either. It is rather the fashion of May Fair and Belgravia 'to go to the play,' more with a view to the party and the supper at Evans's, than from dramatic taste; and I incline to think this part of the audience by no means an improvement on the middle class, or worse than middle class, audience for which plays are written (if they can be called plays) now. You have done all that a man of genius can do to uphold the stage—' *Si Pergama dextra Defendi*,' &c. &c. But the popular tide or tendency is too strong. An actor or actress of undoubted genius might do much, for we have good plays enough if we had people to act them, and people of taste and cultivation will go to what is really good.

By-the-bye, it strikes me that Fechter's conception and performance of "Hamlet" were really very striking, though the effect was marred by his accent.

I have been writing about Spain for *Fraser*, but can make little out of it. I doubt whether the Spaniards are ripe for any real improvement. I spent a month in Madrid, studying their politics, in October 1865, and had a good deal of talk with Prim. As he was very highly praising O'Donnell, the Premier, I asked why they were plotting his downfall. '*Oh, mon ami, c'est le grand jeu, voilà tout!*' Depend upon it, any general or leader who is left out in the new arrangements will recommence this *grand jeu*, and find friends in the army as before.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Nothing yet known about the new archbishop: Jackson rather the favourite, but it is a kind of Hobson's choice.*

Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave.

DEAR LADY WALDEGRAVE,

The Athenæum,

Dec. 2, 1868.

It seems all but certain that the Government intend to resign without meeting Parliament.† Why don't you come up?

There is a precedent (Dec. 1765) for not having a regular King's Speech in such a case, and I have called Gladstone's attention to it. He is at Hawarden, but expected daily. I wrote the letter in the *Times* "On the Creation of Peers," which put a spoke in their wheel.

In haste,

Ever truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

* Archbishop (Canterbury) Longley died on the 27th of October.

† Mr. Disraeli resigned on the 2nd, and on the 4th Mr. Gladstone was sent for.

Mr. Hayward to Dr. William Smith.

Strawberry Hill [Jan. 11, 1869],

MY DEAR SMITH,

Saturday morning.

Sound criticism consists in analysing the causes of impressions, and not declaring a thing to be good because it amuses a particular person, and bad because it does not.*

Lyndhurst is comparatively fresh ground, whilst no one has been so eternally before the public down to his recent death as Brougham.

It is utterly impossible to give one the freshness and attractiveness of the other, and I confess I thought I had done a good deal by five or six really new and personal anecdotes or reminiscences of Brougham. You, to whom they were familiar, were of course not amused by the extracts from the speeches, but I do not think the article would be complete or artistic without them.

However, I am quite ready to adopt any alterations you may suggest. I shall be in town before twelve on Monday morning.

Ever truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

I struck out a part of Brougham's early life (an amusing passage) for want of space.

Mr. Hayward to Dr. William Smith.

Strawberry Hill,

MY DEAR SMITH,

Saturday, 12 P.M.

After I had written a hasty note to you, the revise arrived and I have gone through it carefully. I have studied self-examination all my life, and I don't think I am an obstinate man, though an irritable one. Though

* Mr. Hayward's article in the January *Quarterly* was "Lord Campbell's Lives of Lords Lyndhurst and Brougham."

flattered by your note, I was startled by it, and read the revise under the full expectation that you must be right—

But,

“’Tis with our judgments as our watches, none
Go just alike, yet each believes his own.”

I deliberately think that, so far as mere execution is concerned, Brougham is fully equal to Lyndhurst, and there is hardly a page of the last two-thirds that does not contain a fresh anecdote or illustration.

There are ten of these that no one could supply but myself.

However, all I can say is that I am ready to make any changes you may think necessary. All the most curious passages of Brougham's life are thoroughly familiar to lawyers and politicians, and I am pretty sure that I have selected what is best known to the general public as well as to the legal and political world. But I am quite prepared to carry out any suggestion you may make.

Ever faithfully yours,

•
A. HAYWARD.

If I am so glaringly wrong in this matter, I must be like the Archbishop of Grenada, *je baisse*, and I must give up writing.

Sir Henry Bulwer to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

March 13, 1869.

I will try to get the article. You will have on Monday *Peel*, as far as Catholic Question. The rest in that week. It is not easy to turn the style of a book into that of an article, and I don't know whether if, after all, it will be a perfect success. I rely as usual much on you for that.*

* Lord Dalling's ill-health necessitated a constant residence abroad, and in his literary work he relied on Mr. Hayward to do for him all that, owing to his absence, he himself could not do. Thus, this allusion to his essay on "*Peel*," *vide* 'Historical Characters.' (Bentley & Co.)

The tone is personal defence of Peel, but not a defence of the advisability of such general changes as marked his career.

I think Disraeli's triumph up to this time must be held that of talent, and above all that of boldness, but no doubt it wants the backbone of some general conviction, policy, or principle, as yet not displayed. People, however, rise or fall by great success. He may grow into a statesman, or sink into an adventurer. On the whole, I admire his qualities, though not altogether his career. I have, moreover, an early affection for him, counting from old youthful days, and strengthened by the part he took in the Spanish affair. Of late years I have seen little of him, and he is so entirely absorbed by politics—a fault in the character of any man—that you are not likely to be much in his intimacy if you are not mixed up with his career. For my own part, I have often forgiven injuries, but I have *never* forgotten kindnesses: and I owe him a debt since 1848, which I never had the opportunity to pay, and probably shall not have.

I think the Liberals are likely to go too much ahead as a party on the Irish Church Question—just at this moment; *i.e.*, I doubt if the country is prepared to go with them; though I hold it for certain, that it is eventually impossible to maintain anything so indefensible as the Protestant Church Establishment.

Ever affectionately yours,

H. B.

Lord Orford to Mr. Hayward.

Hotel Barbese, Venice,

March 16, 1869.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

I shall be anxious to see your article.* For "High Play at Whist," we must go back to our grandfathers

* "Whist and Whist-Players." *Fraser's Magazine*, April 1869. Mr. Hayward was himself a most excellent whist-player.

and C. Fox. Crockford and Lord de Ros quashed Private Play. It has survived feebly since the Turf Club began. My experience since '40 has shown me nothing higher than £1 Points, £25 Bet. There are about a dozen men in London who bet 25—50—100. Clay, Batchellor, G. Payne, Mayne, G. Bentinck, Knightley, are the best public players. Annesley is the highest player, and has won the most. Duru—D'Albon—Delamarre—the two St. Pierres, are the first in Paris. The play at the Jockey and the Cercle de la Rue Royale is 1 Louis la Fiche 50 Louis Pari, with 25 or 50 now and then. Sometimes a man may plunge in both places and bet with a dozen different individuals, but as a rule there is little beyond the stakes of the table.

In Germany, at least in Vienna and Munich, there is Whist, chiefly dummy, but now equal to 10s. points.

In Italy very little, nor do I believe there is an Italian Book that treats of the Divine Mysteries.

In Venice, formerly the capital of Play, there is positively nothing. Venice gave us our idea of Clubs, and of public gaming-houses, but the spirit is dead. It is a charming place, but I came here specifically to avoid all play, and I have gained my object.

Good-bye, my dear Hayward! I am as stupid as if I had sat up two nights at the Arlington.

I trust to see you some time in May. I wish you were here, though the past is what one must live in, not the present in the dear old Dominante, and that would not suit your active mind.

ORFORD.

General Burgoyne to Mr. Hayward.

5, Pembridge Square, Bayswater,
MY DEAR HAYWARD, March 17, 1869.

I never heard the anecdote you mention, of one of a party of four officers engaged at a game of whist under

fire, and continuing the game with a dummy on one of them being killed, nor can I believe anything so brutal really happening ; it is on a par with the story of a great dinner-party in India, where the sun was so powerful that on a part of a blind being withdrawn accidentally for a few seconds, the rays lighted upon the lady of the house, and *reduced her to ashes* ; and on which her husband called to a servant, and directed him—to *sweep up his mistress and bring another bottle of Claret.*

Yours faithfully,

J. F. BURGOYNE.

Lady Clanricarde to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

April 13, 1869.

I cannot think what became of my letter ; it certainly went to the Post. It had only a few remarks on your criticism of the Land Bill, and not worth writing again.

I have received your letter in this morning's Post.

We were told a few days ago in the House of Commons that seditious talk was harmless ; we learn from you that it may be beneficial. Be it so ! And let it have a fair trial. Repeal the law against sedition, and expunge the word from the Liturgy. Better far that a Government should abdicate a portion of its power, than *appear* (at least) afraid to use it.

There is no doubt that Agrarian outrages are increasing, and that Fenianism has, *for the moment*, abated ; but I cannot see that our state is the more gracious for that, and I perceive plainly the use that will be made of such a condition of things should it continue, though at present I will say no more upon that part of the subject.

Your letter begs the question for the most part.

You do not tell us what were your "investigations," nor your sources of information, and you therefore leave us, and others, at full liberty to prefer our own. The

privilege of knowing Ireland and Irishmen is not confined to, or even widely spread among, the English, and with my own small stock of information I am enabled to dispute several of your propositions.

It is not the fact, that the *unconditional* release of Fenians was desired by any number of respectable Irishmen ; and those who would have been contented with a conditional discharge, attribute what has been done to fear and party motives. The Fenian "Political Aim" has no semblance of an *unselfish* object ; and though Fenianism has no direct connexion with assassination (except of policemen), it encourages that and every other defiance of the constitutional authorities, as good and patriotic deeds.

The comparison between the Poles and the Irish is entirely fallacious, and their grievances are totally different. The Poles hate the sight of a Russian, especially a prince or great noble ; the Irish are always clamouring for princes and nobles, and seeking the benefit of English laws and customs, and the attention of the English Government. Repeal is their *threat*, if they don't get all this.

It is not true that traitors who plot in public are ridiculous and not dangerous ; and the Duke of Wellington was right when he quoted "*On conspire dans les Rues*" as the most alarming condition of a people.

The liberation of Costello did positive harm, because it created Fenian sympathies and excitement where, until he arrived, there had been none ; and where before his imprisonment he would have been hooted or put into a Bridewell. He openly defied the Government authority face to face, and in popular belief he cowed them. In point of fact, the released Fenians are now socially, financially, and in character, in a better position than they were at any other time of their lives.

No one doubts, that it is the interest and the desire of

the Government to govern Ireland satisfactorily ; but the fact is patent, that at no time since the Union has the country been in a worse condition both politically and socially. If the Lord Lieutenant* had more powers, I believe he would do much good, for he is honest and well-intentioned ; but, like most things that England gives to Ireland, he is a sham.

Yours sincerely,
H. CLANRICARDE.

Mr. William Cowper † to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD.

Brocket, Sept. 18, 1869.

Thank you for your letter, and thank you 1,000 times for the article ‡ you sent to me. We all thought we recognised your hand in the vivid description of our dear mother's character and the appreciation of her especial qualities of heart and mind ; and I am glad that this monument to her memory should have been raised by one for whom she had so warm a friendship, and whose arrival always gave her pleasure.

It is a pity that the passage about her domestic affections was omitted, and I wish we had seen it.

Mention might also have been made of the *salon* she kept, when Princess Lieven, the Duchesse de Dino, and Talleyrand, and Pozzo, and Alvanley, and Luttrell, and Lord and Lady Holland were her intimate associates ; but this was more at Panshanger than in London, and those times seem very remote to the present generation.

Our terrible loss is not alleviated by the fact, that it comes in the ordinary course of nature ; but we ought to

* The present Lord Spencer.

† Lord Mount-Temple, Lady Palmerston's son.

‡ "Lady Palmerston," the *Times*, Sept. 15 ; 'Selected Essays,' vol. ii., by A. Hayward. (Longmans, 1878.) Lady Palmerston died on the 11th of September.

be grateful that we have enjoyed the blessing of her presence for so prolonged a period in the fullest use of her mind and heart.

Ever sincerely yours,
WM. COWPER.

Lord Shaftesbury to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

Sept. 22, 1869.

The notice in the *Times* of my inestimable mother-in-law * was worthy of the dear woman in whose honour it was written. It was a true and lively picture of her many fascinations, and of the grace that shone in every action of her life.

What she was to the public, she was to her friends and to her family, ever kind, affectionate, and sincere, and putting all her happiness in seeing others as happy, if possible, as herself.

With her, all was nature. There was no art, no study, no calculation; kindness and consideration for others were a part of her existence; without them she would have ceased to be.

For myself, I may say that, until I lost her, I hardly knew how much I loved her. But now that I know and feel it to the full, you may understand the comfort with which I read your record to her memory, so accurate, and yet so beautiful.

Believe me,
Faithfully yours,
SHAFTESBURY.

* Lady Palmerston married, first, the 5th Earl Cowper, and one of their daughters married the Earl of Shaftesbury; Lord Mount-Temple was the second son of Lady Palmerston's first marriage.

Mrs. Norton to Mr. Hayward.

Villa Lammermoor, Geneva,

Friday, Sept. 24, 1869.

DEAR AVOCAT,

Thanks for your good remembrance of me, in sending the article on Lady Palmerston. It has, I think, been delayed in delivery, as I only received it *yesterday*, and lucky to get it then, for I am just leaving this sweet place and expect, after one day's rest in Paris, to get home the middle of the week.

You must not think I had not already guessed you as the author of the article in question, which I had read with eager interest.

I think it *much* the best that has appeared ; much the best thing of the kind that even you ever wrote—*perfect* in taste, feeling, and style. It is the most difficult of all tasks, that sort of posthumous notice ; and the steering between a real profound regret and admiration, and the consciousness that you are to *explain* grounds of regret and admiration, and call on strangers to share both feelings, requires rare tact of measurement, what to say and what to leave unsaid. That tact you certainly have shown, nor is there any over-praise in anything you have written.

The trembling *antennæ* with which those who are near and dear must always approach and examine records of the lives of their dead, cannot be hurt by your lines ; nor can strangers, in their carelessness, think them too personal in any comments on her own many merits. I have never heard particulars, wandering about as we have been ; but you will tell me, if I miss seeing Lady H. Cowper in Paris, which of her children were with her, &c.

This place is delicious, and Lady Emily* charming

* Lady Emily Peel's brother was Lord Gifford, Lord Tweeddale's eldest son.

reminding me much, in a certain earnestness and simplicity, of Gifford, her brother, and full of information and ability of various kinds. Very musical also, which is a joy to me at all times : one of the few pleasures neither age nor sadness can make one indifferent to.

Baroness Adolph de Rothschild has a much finer *house*, but in my opinion not *nearly* so pretty a *place*, close by. She is an old Naples friend of mine, and I always thought her charming.

I make my farewell by dining with her to-morrow, when I shall look my last on the blue lake, and turn into the dreadful railway tunnels.

If you write, write to Chesterfield Street, "*not* to be forwarded." I think Wednesday will see me there.

I heard of you from Stirling-Maxwell.

Yours ever truly,

C. CLIENT.

Mr. Laurence Oliphant to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Belgrade, Sept. 27, 1869.

I dare say you will like to hear a few of my recent experiences. I arrived here a few days ago from Hungary, where I have been staying about at country houses for a month past. I have thus had an opportunity of learning what it would have been impossible to learn otherwise—the state of feeling in the country generally. I do not think they are aware at Vienna of the widespread discontent which prevails in all classes, and of the determination which exists to take advantage of the Italian movement, and break out at the earliest opportunity into open rebellion. Formerly the Austrian Government, by playing off the peasantry against the nobles, succeeded to a great extent in keeping the latter in check ; while the prejudices of the aristocratic party against the more democratic element, as represented

by Kossuth, was a source of weakness in any popular movement. Now, however, the nobles are determined to sink all minor considerations and unite under the leadership of Kossuth, who is still idolised by the people; while they have completely succeeded in conciliating the peasantry by the abolition of their own peculiar privileges by the Constitution of '48. All parties are now united in their common hatred to the Austrian Government, and the people in Vienna, instead of keeping their hold over the peasantry, have disgusted them by the imposition of heavy taxes which the latter now refuse to pay—suffering rather restraint. In '49 the Austrians found useful and valuable allies in the Croatian, Wallack, Servian, and other nationalities. Instead of rewarding them for their fidelity, they applied the same treatment to them as to the rebels. They complain that they have received as a reward what the Hungarians got as a punishment, and are now almost to a man opposed to the Government. Then the whole Hungarian section of the Austrian army, amounting to about 100,000 men, are disaffected, and it is confidently expected that they would desert in the event of a popular movement.

The Croatian frontier levies, consisting of 80,000 men, are equally unfaithful, and in the event of Garibaldi's effecting a landing on this side would in all probability join him. Hitherto the largest party were composed of the more moderate men who only wanted back the Constitution of '48, now the Separatists are in a majority; and in the event of the Austrian Government giving all they ask, the Conservatives would find some difficulty in making the people accept what they would have jumped at a few months ago. Meanwhile this *rapprochement* between Austria and Russia has given a new turn to the aspect of affairs, but has not disheartened the Hungarians, who now think that if Louis Napoleon

deserts the Liberal party in Europe, and goes over to the cause of legitimacy, England will take up the Nationalities.

At any rate, I don't think it possible for a country to remain long in the state of ferment in which Hungary is at present, and if the Austrians are so infatuated as to throw themselves into the arms of Russia rather than make the smallest concession, they will suffer for it in the long run.

We had a great event here yesterday in the long looked-for death of Prince Milosch—his son Michael proclaimed himself his successor yesterday. I was at the ceremony, and we expected a row, but it all passed off quietly. I do hope people in England are getting more sensible on the subject of Turkey. She is our most valuable friend, and, so far as fighting men are concerned, our most powerful ally in Europe, and in my opinion does not persecute her infernal Christian subjects enough. However, that is a view I despair of getting the British public to take; but everybody who knows Turkey well will say the same. I am starting on a ride right across the country to Montenegro in a few days. Then I will cross over to Italy, pay a visit to Garibaldi, and go home.

The Russians are intriguing here like the devil. They stir up, by means of secret agents, the Servians to attack the Turks—supply them with arms for the purpose—and, when the Turks retaliate, they call it persecution. If they remain quiet, they point to the incapacity of the Turkish authorities, and their inability to keep things quiet.

I wish, if you see Kinglake, you would tell him I will write to him soon, but I am sorry to say the state of Hungary is as I have described, and the policy of the Austrian Government has been insane. I went to Austria with every disposition to make allowances for

the difficulties of their position, but their conduct is indefensible.

Yours very truly,
L. OLIPHANT.

Mr. Bernal Osborne to Mr. Hayward

DEAR HAYWARD, Newtown Anner, Clonmel,
Nov. 27, 1869.

I wrote you so lately a long essay on the state of this country, you will probably shrink from the idea of a second volume. Don't be afraid; but as you are the connecting link between the literary and political magnates of London, and can both speak and write, do not let persons in high places run away with the notion, that their late Church measure of Disestablishment has at all conciliated either priest or laity here. You know I have always looked upon the simple measure of mere disestablishment as a mistake, inasmuch as you affronted the Protestant party mortally, and gave nothing to their adversaries; consequently "a lively expectation of favours to come" is an essential component of Hibernian gratitude! Knowing Ireland well, I am not inclined to think so seriously of O'Donovan Rossa's return for this county. His competitor was a trading lawyer, quite unconnected with Tipperary, and forced upon it by a small coterie of unpopular persons for their own ends.

The Fenians proper are not a large body, but earnest, energetic, and well-organised. The Fenian sympathisers are the shopkeepers and the masses. The Fenian farmers, as a rule, hold themselves aloof, but ready to side with the strongest party; so do the priests, though they hate and fear the Fenian move as hostile to their power and position. Now the electors of Tipperary = 9,500; out of these only 2,072 came to the poll, and of these more than one-half were forced, willy nilly, on one

side from regard to their priest, on the other fear of their Fenian *friends!* In many respects the Irish are mere children, though very "naughty ones." Having got every *indulgence* by crying and raising a hullabaloo, they keep up the game; even the well-disposed are obliged to join the ranks of the malignants; for the individual Paddy, however brave in combat, is timid in council, and becomes absorbed in the party which shows most *pluck*: a quality which at present is monopolised by the Fenians. Depend upon it, the time for Gladstonian gentleness is passing away, and just measures must be accompanied by a stern repression of revolutionary attempts, whether made by the pen or the revolver; if not, there will be a repetition of 1798, without its excuses for the governed or the governors.

Sincerely,
B. O.

Lord Chief Justice Cockburn to Mr. Hayward.

40, Hertford Street, Mayfair, W.,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Nov. 7, 1869.

I return you the notice on Lady Palmerston. It is charmingly done. Nothing could be happier or more appropriate.

I have been reading your article on the Byron scandal.* I think you have made an end of the matter. The letters to the sister show either that Lady Byron's notion was an afterthought, an idea springing up in an ill-conditioned mind preying on itself till morbid delusion was the result; or that she was an accomplished hypocrite, regardless of truth, and to whose statements no credit whatever ought to be attached.

* "The Byron Mystery," in the *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1869. The article was written to vindicate Lord Byron against the charges brought against him by Mrs. Beecher Stowe.

On the production of those letters the case is at an end, and the verdict must be for defendant.

Very truly yours,
A. E. COCKBURN.

Mr. Hayward to Lady William Russell.

The Secretary's Lodge,*
Phoenix Park, Dublin,

DEAR LADY WILLIAM,

Oct. 14, 1869.

I have requested the Editor to send you an early copy of the *Quarterly*. If (as I fear) he has made me state that the grant of apartments in St. James's Palace to Mrs. Leigh was in 1814 or 1815, and connected with her (as he says) appointment of bedchamber-woman, please to observe that the blunder is his own. I took down the date (April, 1818) from the actual warrant at the Chamberlain's office, and it had no connection with her nomination as bedchamber-woman, if she ever was so nominated.

Everything here is amusing and interesting. The Duc d'Aumale and Osborne are amongst the guests in the house. A grand review was got up in the Duc's honour this morning, and to-day we dine with the Vice-royalties. They dined here on Monday with the Commander-in-Chief, Chancellor, Attorney- and Solicitor-General, &c.

I collect that no more Fenians are to be let out, though the Amnesty meeting was a formidable one.

I am asked to the Dartreys', Moncks', and other houses, but I intend to be in town before the end of the month.

With best regards to Mr. and Mrs. Arthur,

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

* Mr. Chichester Fortescue (Lord Carlingford) was Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Sir Charles Lennox Wyke to Mr. Hayward.

Hôtel Britannique, Paris,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Nov. 15, 1869.

I have got two months' leave to go South in search of sun and warmth, for Copenhagen * is horrible during this period of the year. I shall stop here ten days to do the theatres and see people.—“Julie ” at the Français is admirable.

I went last night with Whitehurst (of the *Telegraph*) to two or three of the worst of the public meetings you have heard so much of. He got me behind the scenes, and we were evidently looked on as English “Reds” of the deepest dye, although my good hat very nearly marred our prospects. They were really very civil to us, and placed us close to the Tribune, from which the Speaker addressed all the blouses and roughts of Paris. We went from one meeting to the other in W.'s brougham, with a fat Republican sitting on my knees: which was the worst part of the night's business.

The speaking was not violent, and I thought wanting in sincerity of feeling. It was all about the rivalry of Rochefort and Carnot, the former being the favourite. He, however, did not appear, strange to say. This is the last of the *Public* meetings, but we got invitations to some private ones.

Everybody called his neighbour Citoyen, and the Emperor was always styled Monsieur Louis Bonaparte. I think from what I have seen that the gravity of the movement in *this class* is greatly exaggerated in the newspapers. One speaker, a shoemaker by trade, declared he would no longer sit by the side of Gambetta; upon which a fellow in a blouse sang out “Parbleu, citoyen cordonnier, ta place est à ses pieds!” which produced roars

* He was Minister at Copenhagen.

of laughter, and *was* really very neat. Lady Molesworth is here, and I see her every day. Bulwer I have also been with, and he is as charming as ever, although he looks more dead than alive. He also is going South, and wants me to go to Avignon with him, but he leaves too soon.

Do let me hear from you.

Yours sincerely,
C. L. W.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Lytton.

8, St. James's Street,
Dec. 23, 1869.

MY DEAR LYTTON,

I have been exclusively occupied with Irish Tenant Right for many days, and it was only last evening that I read 'Walpole,' and a very agreeable one it was. The language (if I may venture to say so) is pointed and idiomatic, the flow of the verse easy and natural, and the rhymes fit in without inversion, which is the great drawback to most verse. In fact, you do not appear to have suffered from that crippling effect of verse which you mention in the Preface to the 'Pilgrims of the Rhine.'

Well acted, this play would certainly be successful on the stage. I am convinced your notion of Walpole's character is correct, but how do you justify your reading of the famous saying—was it not "All *these* men (meaning the Patriots) have their price"? I confess I am not aware who is the authority for either version.

Ever yours faithfully,
A. HAYWARD.

Lord Lytton to Mr. Hayward.

Argyll House, Torquay,
Dec. 24, 1869.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Thanks for your letter and obliging opinion of 'Walpole.'

I had written, and indeed printed, a Preface explain-

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Q

ing the intention of the Comedy ; and, amongst others, another touching on the qualifications which Cox, without other authority than his own, makes of the saying popularly ascribed to Walpole : " All men have their price." The qualification—all *these* men—meaning, as you justly state, chiefly the Patriots, or as we should now say, the ultra-Liberals, does not signify much in the mouth of a Minister. When Walpole implies, All those who oppose me have their price (and he certainly bribed Jacobites as well as Patriots), he has said all that a Minister can say on such a subject ; for no Minister will say that the men who support him are purchaseable. And Walpole's general talk, of which there are many specimens on record, justifies the popular persistence in ascribing to him the general sentiment expressed in my title, and in pooh-poohing Cox's qualification.

I was persuaded not to publish my Preface.

The Comedy itself is, I believe, the first attempt made to add to the varieties of our Comic Drama the metre of Molière, and I may even add Molière's style of comic treatment, in the selection of cosmopolitan types of character and the conveying philosophical satire in the compression of epigram which rhyme favours more than either prose or verse. I believe the employment of this metre would add greatly to the substance and poetic elevation of English Comedy, though in our language it would never adapt itself to Tragedy as it does in the French. But it must be only used where the character and plot raise it from burlesque, and the scene is thrown in a period removed from our own day.

I have no intention at present of placing the piece on the stage, simply because we have no actor for it. But, as I hold that everything in Art should be what it pretends to be—that a thing that calls itself a play, whether tragic or comic, should be written *as* a play, with dramatic plot, dialogue and situation—so my little piece



is composed exactly on the same principles as those I should have followed had I written it for the purpose of stage representation.

I shall read with interest what you say on the Irish Land Question. I suppose the Government have already framed their measure.

I feel that Society owes you a great tribute of gratitude for your article in the *Quarterly* on Mrs. Stowe's outrage on the Dead and the Living. I knew poor Mrs. Leigh very intimately, and never met a more innocent-minded woman.

Ever truly yours,

L.

CHAPTER VI.

1870-1876.

Letter to Sir Henry Bulwer, the Irish Land Bill—Thiers in England—Bulwer's 'Life of Palmerston,' the Duc d'Aumale and Sedan—The war in France, the Emperor's *brochure*, Russia and the Black Sea, the French army—Mr. Gladstone on the war—Ministerial movements, Lady E. Peel's article on the soldiers in hospital, opinion on the prolongation of the war, the state of Paris—Mrs. Grote's death—'The Second Armada'—'The Purchase System'—The tone of modern statesmen, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright at Hawarden, the ex-Emperor—The difficulty with America—Death of Sir Henry Bulwer (Lord Dalling), his views on the Treaty of Washington and the "indirect claims"—The Derbyites and the American difficulty, feeling in America—Mr. Hayward's 'Essays,' Mr. Lowe at Glasgow—Formation of Lord Palmerston's Government in 1855—Mr. Gladstone and Lord Lansdowne—'The Pearls and mock Pearls of History'—Mrs. Norton's song, 'Frederick's Camp'—Letter from Mrs. T. Carlyle—The division on the Irish University Bill—Mr. Gladstone and the dissolution—The Suez Canal shares—The Bulgarian atrocities, Russia and Turkey—Letter from Mr. Gladstone—Conversation with Count Schouvaloff, Mr. Gladstone's action in supporting the Christian provinces, Mr. Forster's views—The Turkish armistice and Russia, Mr. Gladstone—Lord Beaconsfield's speech at the Mansion House.

WITH advancing years, Mr. Hayward's correspondence becomes less copious; one of his sisters died in 1870, and sad inroads continued to be made upon the narrowing circle of his acquaintance. A man who has reached the age of threescore years and ten seldom cares to

surround himself with new friends brought up in another school, with minds formed upon different lines from his own; and even if there is an abundance of material, the choice of letters available for publication grows limited in dealing with recent events, the chief actors in which are still sensitive to criticism.

Enough, however, fortunately remains to show that, although Mr. Hayward was now well-stricken in years, his vigorous intellect bore no sign of decay, while his capacity for work and for enjoyment of life might have been the envy of many a younger man.

The bare record of its principal deeds will suffice to recall the memory of Mr. Gladstone's Administration, which was distinguished for the Irish Land Act, the Education Act, the Ballot Act, and the Abolition of the Purchase System in the army.

In the interval between the close of the Franco-German War and the outbreak of hostilities in Eastern Europe in 1875, the Black Sea Conference in London, ratifying the Russian breach of the Treaty of Paris, and the negotiations that terminated in the Geneva Arbitration upon the "Alabama" claims, attracted public attention.

In 1875 and 1876 the disturbances in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Bulgarian insurrection, with its attendant horrors, followed by the revolt of Servia and Montenegro against Turkey, and the European Conference, to settle the relations between Turkey and the Christian provinces at Constantinople, invited Mr. Hayward's keen attention and criticism.

Mr. Hayward to Sir Henry Bulwer.

MY DEAR BULWER, 8, St. James's Street,
April 18, 1870.

I have given up the notion of going to Paris, having been obliged to go into Dorsetshire on account of the sudden illness of my sister;* and though there is no cause for alarm, I do not like to be out of the way. I am going for the week to Dudbrook.

There is a good deal of uneasy feeling touching the Land Bill, for if it does not pass, there will be the devil to pay in Ireland, beginning with a general combination not to pay rent. The Irish landlords wish it to pass. The opposition comes from discontented Liberals like —, and crotchety people like —, with whom Disraeli will make his people co-operate on party grounds.

A thousand thanks for your offer of a lodging, which I have no doubt would be as comfortable as usual. I hear nothing of your proofs.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

“When Thiers, in his futile quest for an alliance, visited this country just before the Investment of Paris in 1870, the first person whom he saw on his arrival was Hayward. He sounded his old friend as to the possibility of the English Government giving France its support. Hayward at once said the idea was hopeless. Thiers then began to argue his case, and to show that in the interests of the balance of power it was the duty of England to support his country. ‘My friend,’ broke in Hayward abruptly, ‘put all that stuff out of your head. We care for none of these things.’ This incident took

* Mr. Hayward's elder sister died this year.

place probably at one of the meetings between Mons. Thiers and Mr. Hayward mentioned in the following letter." *

Mr. Hayward to Miss Hayward.

Sept. 17, 1870.

I passed yesterday evening with the Thiers party, and breakfasted with them this morning. They are himself, his wife, sister-in-law, and secretary. His mission seems to be to persuade England to interfere in behalf of France, which England won't do. I saw Gladstone yesterday, who told me he *could* not mediate, as he knew neither what Prussia meant to demand nor France to concede. The Thiers party go away sad and sorry this evening. They return to France, intending to get across to Vienna on the same bootless errand.

A. H.

Mr. Hayward to Miss Hayward.

Oct. 3, 1870.

I have just received a telegram from the principal merchant of Lyons, to ask if it would be useful for him to come over and organise peace meetings. I replied, *Perfectly useless*. I dine to-day with the Rothschilds. The pretty wife of the head of the French house, Madame Alphonse, told me yesterday that her husband was serving on the ramparts as a national guard, whilst her chateau is occupied by the King of Prussia.

Ever yours,

A. H.

* "Mr. Hayward," by T. H. S. Escott. *Fortnightly Review*, March 1884.

Mr. Hayward to Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell.

The Athenæum, Oct. 21, 1870.

MY DEAR STIRLING,

I have just finished an article for the November *Fraser* on 'The Personal History of Imperialism in 1870,' in which I trace our friend through the war. — and I between us had cut out everything relating to him from the papers, French and English, which I have utilised.

My article on Bulwer's 'Palmerston'* is in the *Quarterly*, published on Saturday last—which *Quarterly*, by the way, contains a preposterous laudation of the Emperor. You may see it towards the end of the first article.

I met the Duc d'Aumale at dinner at Holland House last week, to talk over the Emperor. The Duc is quite furious about Sedan,† as inflicting an irreparable disgrace on France.

I see no chance of peace. Bernstorff‡ tells me that it is simply absurd to suppose that Germany can or will give up Alsace. It is just possible they may not insist on Lorraine. Louis Napoleon told Lady Cowley "on the word of a dying man" (which he is not), that he and the Empress have only £2,000 a year between them. The Barings (his London bankers) assert that he invested nothing from them. The Motleys go to Bretton Park tomorrow. They meant to go to you, if he could have got away.

Kinglake dined here yesterday, as did Massey and Wolff. Indeed, the *corner* flourishes. I am going to Newstead

* 'The Life of Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston,' by the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, G.C.B., M.P. (Bentley, 1870.)

† The surrender of Marshal MacMahon's army of 95,000 men at Sedan occurred on the 2nd of September.

‡ Count von Bernstorff, Prussian Minister at St. James's, and afterwards Ambassador of the German Empire.

Abbey on the 14th November, but don't leave London till then. Best regards to Lady Anna, and believe me,

Ever truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. E. Lucas to Mr. Hayward.

Castle Shane, Monaghan,

Oct. 22, 1870.

SIR,

I take the liberty of noticing, for your private satisfaction (for they are not of sufficient importance for the correction to demand publicity), two trivial errors in your very excellent critique on Bulwer's 'Life of Palmerston.'

The first is : that Palmerston was at Harrow with Peel and Byron.

With the former he may have been ; with the latter, I have personal knowledge that he was not.

I went to Harrow immediately after the Easter holidays of 1801.

William Temple was then there ; Lord Palmerston was not.

Accident caused Lord Byron (then called Birron) to be placed under my temporary charge when he came, by Mrs. Drury, wife of the Doctor ; which gave me a half-holiday. He came some time between the Easter holidays and the Midsummer.

The second correction I take the liberty to make will have a stronger interest for you.

I sat within a few feet of Disraeli, when he made the famous speech which you quote.* He was, as all the world knows, not only pained but surprised at the ridicule with which his too-flowery oration was received by the House, and he more than once interrupted its natural course to go so far as to appeal to the House to be more

* His maiden speech in the House of Commons, Dec. 7, 1837. See 'Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence with his Sister,' 1886.

indulgent to a new member. At length, finding no indulgence, his mood changed entirely and at once; he raised his voice to its full power and roared out the memorable words: "the time will come when you *shall* hear me!"

The roar of the House was stronger than the roar of the orator, and I thought for a long time that few present had heard his words; but I must have been mistaken, for by degrees they became known to the whole world, sometimes altered as you, sir, have altered them.

It may, perhaps, be right for me to say that I never had any acquaintance with the distinguished author of 'Lothair.'

I feel, sir, that you will excuse an octogenarian's frivolity, if such it be.

Your very obedient servant and admirer,

EDW. LUCAS.

Mr. Hayward to Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell.

8, St. James's Street,

Nov. 15, 1870.

MY DEAR STIRLING,

Of course the people who have been puffing Louis Napoleon feel annoyed at being obliged to give him up, as it wounds their self-love as well as brings their judgment into question. His *brochure*,* however, has given him and his dynasty the *coup de grâce*. The Orleanists have now a capital chance if they play a waiting game. Sartiges (Ambassador at Rome some years since) told me the other day that, prior to the *brochure*, Imperialism could still reckon on three millions of votes. I don't think

* Published in November 1870, and containing his reasons for the defeat of the French arms in the campaign. The Emperor stated that he was aware of the disorganised condition of his army before the war began. This provoked a natural retort, and people asked why, knowing so much, he had permitted it to break out.

much of this so-called victory of Orleans.* The check will speedily be repaired, and my notion is that Paris cannot hold out beyond the first week of December. But *après ?* We shall be as far as ever from peace.

I hardly know what to make of this Russian affair,† for Russia is not prepared for war. There is evidently an understanding with Prussia.

I was out of town *last* week, and was engaged to Newstead Abbey *this*, but am detained in town.

Kinglake, Strzelecki, Carnegie, Lefevre, &c., have been dining pretty regularly in (or out of) the "Corner," and any pheasants you can spare will be acceptable.

I shall be glad to see your lecture. My article on Mexico owed next to nothing to French documents. My main prompter was Wyke.‡ The French opposition really borrowed from me. H. Bulwer's book has had considerable success, though the war kills literature. A cabman before my windows, who buys the *Echo* regularly, and had been often *done* by the newsboy, exclaimed—"If you goes on selling me battles that haven't been fought, I'm d—d if I don't kick you!" This is the language in which Gambetta and his colleagues should be addressed. Best regards to Lady Anna, and believe me,

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

* General d'Aurelles' victory over Von der Tann at Orleans. It is said that had this victory been followed up, and General d'Aurelles marched to the relief of Paris, the siege might have been raised.—'The Campaign of 1870-71.' Republished from the *Times*. (Bentley, 1871.)

† The declaration by Russia, that she would no longer observe the clause in the Treaty of Paris by which her fleet was excluded from the Black Sea.

‡ Sir Charles Wyke, at one time English Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Mexico; *vide* "The Plot of the Mexican Drama," by A. Hayward. *Fraser's Magazine*, August 1867.

Mr. Hayward to Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell.

MY DEAR STIRLING,

The Athenæum,
Nov. 29, 1870.

Your magnificent contribution of pheasants arrived yesterday morning, and I meant to write, but missed the post. I had a brace dressed here yesterday, of which Carnegie, Venables, and Bunbury partook. Kinglake did not appear.

I do not think the Russian complication will immediately result in war. Gortschakoff did not mean war, for which Russia is totally unprepared, either in army or finance. Turkey is more than a match for her on the Black Sea, and we could easily shut up her fleet in the Baltic. Austria would do all that is wanted in the way of army. The Russians clearly calculated on having their own way with us.

The French are getting daily the worst of it. The army of the Loire can't relieve Paris by remaining in an entrenched camp at Orleans. Private accounts lead me to believe, that the poorer classes are already suffering dreadfully in Paris, and cats are certainly selling at six or seven francs each. Fresh meat (except horse) rations ceased some days since. Trochu is a humbug, and no one believes in his plans.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave.

DEAR LADY WALDEGRAVE,

Hawarden Castle, Chester,
Dec. 9, 1870.

It is a very long time since I heard from you. I came here on Wednesday from a neighbouring house and go to town to-morrow, being bound for Broadlands on the 12th. The Premier is in excellent spirits, foreseeing no

difficulties, and quite prepared to face the nonsense people are talking about the necessity for a large army to protect us from invasion. He is very vehement against any cession of territory by the French, but says he speaks only as an individual. He neither denies nor admits the article in the *Edinburgh Review*, and told me he did not feel called on to do either, as there might be a middle case, of his having aided in the composition. For all that, I am convinced the greater part must be his; the rest possibly his son's.

I came the day after a ball, and found the house full of young people, with the exception of Lord and Lady Meath. General Burnside, F. Peel, and Max Müller came to-day.

The young man who strikes me most is Strutt, the senior wrangler, Lord Rayleigh's son.*

I have had an immensity of talk with Gladstone on all subjects. I strolled about with him for some hours yesterday. He takes whatever work he has to do easily enough here, and finds time for general reading into the bargain.

The Russian complication seems over for the present. Do write me a line when you can find time. Best regards to Mr. Fortescue, and believe me,

Ever faithfully yours, .

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

8, St. James's Street,

DEAR LADY EMILY,

Jan. 2, 1871.

When I sent you the *Magazine*, I was not aware you were out of England. It required no acknowledgment. I should hardly have thought it worth while to write the article, could I have anticipated the ex-Emperor's own

* The present Lord Rayleigh.

brochure, which is a confession of hopeless incapacity. I am sorry you have not set down your impressions. It is not yet too late, and we are interested to know the truth as to the French prisoners in Germany, their treatment, &c. Some three weeks since I was at Hawarden (Gladstone's) when General Burnside* arrived. I had a good deal of talk with him. He thought the French cause hopeless, conceiving it impossible for armies of raw troops badly officered—indeed, without any trained subordinate officers at all—to be manœvered on a large scale, so as to encounter the Germans in the field; and equally impossible for the Parisians to break out. Gladstone is French so far as wishing to get them out of the scrape cheaply and without loss of territory, but strongly condemning their general spirit and mode of provoking the war. *Fine* society is French. But most thinking people will not be sorry to see them cured of their aggressiveness. My own notion is that Paris cannot hold out much longer.

Gladstone I found in capital spirits, cutting down a tree! He made light of the Russian matter, and so do the diplomats generally. Persigny† says it is only a dash of Gortschakoff, *pour faire parler de lui*.

The new appointments‡ do not give satisfaction to the "Red" Liberals, who say they brought Gladstone into power, and complain that they are postponed for the Whigs. Lowe (whom I met yesterday morning at the L. Rothschilds'), on Rothschild's insisting that England should interfere to stop the war, declared that he would not remain member of a Government that thought of it.

* Ambrose Everett Burnside, the American General, was in Paris during the siege.

† The Duke de Persigny, French Ambassador in London.

‡ Mr. Chichester Fortescue replaced Mr. Bright as President of the Board of Trade, Lord Hartington became Secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Monsell Postmaster-General.

I need hardly say that no Government is likely to think of it. I do not think Cardwell* likely to move. Childers† is certainly far from well. Bulwer's 'Palmerston' is the only book that has attracted attention since the war. It has had a great success, and immensely raised the general estimate of Lord Palmerston. My article in the *Quarterly* was published a fortnight before the book, and gave it a good start. Bulwer is at Torquay, and not worse than usual. I am reviewing the 'Lives of the Irish Chancellors' for the next *Q. R.*

Madame Alphonse‡ is looking very handsome and *abattue*. She had just come in from skating at Gunnersbury. I dined at Lady Molesworth's yesterday, with C. Villiers, H. Lennox, Torrington, Vivian, and Costa—pleasant and lively. Best regards to Sir Robert.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

DEAR LADY EMILY, 8, St. James's Street,
Jan. 17, 1871.

The contents of all the February Magazines are arranged by this time, and most of them printed off. Your MS. would hardly arrive till within three or four days of their publication. But I do not see why you should not offer your notes to Delane, as they cannot fail to be interesting.§ I will gladly see to the proofs in any case.

* Secretary for War.

† First Lord of the Admiralty.

‡ Madame Alphonse Rothschild.

§ Lady Emily Peel wrote an account of her experiences of the war, and of the treatment of the French and German soldiers in the great military hospital at Frankfort which she visited. This account was published in the *Times*.

I sat some time with the Bernstorffs on Sunday. They are a good deal annoyed at the growing tone against Germany, which I for one believe to be unjust. I am not aware at what point they (the Germans) could have stopped without giving up the main object they are fighting for : namely, what *they think* essential to their future security. Hompresch (the Bavarian) told me that it was the South Germans who insisted on Strasburg and the Passes of the Vosges, as they (in future wars) would be otherwise open to any sudden incursion of the French. As to the French having suffered enough, what is that to the Germans, so long as the French insist on war *à outrance* ? If I have a stand-up fight with a man and knock him down, if he gives in, the affair is over ; but suppose he won't give in ? Suppose he kicks and bites, and tells me he will go on kicking and biting, what am I to do ? This is war *à outrance*. Who ever before heard of limiting the right of conquest by requiring the assent of the vanquished to the transaction ? Did the French ever think of such a thing when they prepared to round their frontier ? I mention these topics to convey to you a notion of the conflicting opinions now prevalent in England. *Fine* society is mostly French. C. Villiers,* who has just returned from his constituents, says that the provincial workmen are at utter variance with the metropolitan, and will not hear of war.

There has never been the slightest notion of shifting or suspending Cardwell. Gladstone is in excellent spirits, and I really think the attacks on the Government will come to nothing. Bernstorff told me that the Conference † was to be strictly confined to the Russian difficulty.

* The Rt. Hon. Charles P. Villiers. M. P. for Wolverhampton since 1835.

† The Conference which Prince Bismarck proposed should meet in London, to discuss Russia's claim to have the "Black Sea" Article of the Treaty of Paris annulled.

The Empress Eugénie talks confidently of the restoration of Imperialism by a Plébiscite, saying that neither she nor her son would return except by a fresh call of the nation! I do not believe there is the least foundation for the belief, that the Germans intend to restore Imperialism. The Imperialists, however, openly avow, that they are prepared to make the required surrender of territory. Persigny told me, the other day, that to continue the contest is absurd. The concluding article in the new *Quarterly* is by Lord Salisbury, and very good; the 'Modern Whist,' dull and commonplace. The one on 'The Lord Chancellors of Ireland' is by me. But I suppose you hardly get the Reviews at Geneva in these times. Best regards to Sir Robert.

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

8, St. James's Street,
Jan. 23, 1871.
MY DEAR LADY EMILY,

The article reached me this morning, and I have delivered it to Lord William as requested. It strikes me that it would do very well for the March Magazines. It is very well written and very interesting. With your leave, I will offer it to Froude for *Fraser*. But are you not coming home?

The state of things is daily looking worse for the French, and Gambetta is doing all he can to make their ruin as widespread as possible. The separation of Bourbaki and Chanzy was the most fatal of his moves.

Childers* is ill, but not so ill as the *Times* would make him—

“Would rather that the man should die
Than his prediction prove a lie.”

* Mr. Childers was forced by illness, in March, to resign his post at the Admiralty, and temporarily to seek rest.

Delane himself has been very ill from the effects of a cold, caught at the Walter funeral. He is now much better.

Lord Dufferin tells me that Ireland is materially prosperous, but that the anti-English feeling grows apace. The Education Question is to stand over.

The pro-French tendencies in the popular mind gain strength, but I doubt their taking any definite form in Parliament, most people of sense being agreed that England could not mediate with effect, nor indeed without adding to irritation. My own notion is that the capitulation of Paris will end the war.

The Duc d'Aumale (with whom I dined on Friday) is very angry at his brother's expulsion from France, and very severe on Gambetta's mismanagement.

The Rothschilds are very low about the war as usual ; but Madame Alphonse is as handsome as ever.

Best regards to Sir Robert.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Mrs. Grote.

8, St. James's Street,

June 24, 1871.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have not written, because I really could say nothing that would not keep alive painful associations, and you know my feelings and my sense of your and *our* irreparable loss full well.* But I cannot refrain from telling you how much I was impressed by the attendance at the ceremony of this day, such as, I think, was never before seen at the funeral of any man unconnected with public life of the high official character, and resting his claims to the respect of his countrymen on purely personal merits. I remarked some of the most distinguished

* Mr. George Grote, her husband, died on the 18th of June.

men of the day amongst the uninvited spectators. Gladstone is confined to his house by illness. Pray let me see you as soon after your return as you can without reawakening grief.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

'The Second Armada, a Chapter in Future History, was a *jeu d'esprit* suggested by the 'Battle of Dorking'; the extraordinary popularity of which, while fully admitting its originality and ingenuity, Mr. Hayward felt was owing, in no slight degree, to the existence of a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction and alarm shortly after the close of the war between France and Germany. In this article, which first appeared in the *Times*, Mr. Hayward, supposing that a League (including the most powerful States) was formed for the avowed purpose of reducing the British Isles to the condition of conquered provinces to be divided among the conquerors, sketched the plan of action pursued by the League assisted by the navy of the United States, and how England set to work and prevented a landing on her shores, and eventually defeated her enemies. It is to this article that Lord Lytton and Lady Hatherley allude.*

Lord Lytton to Mr. Hayward.

Grosvenor Square,
June 30, 1871.

DEAR HAYWARD,

Many thanks for your very clever *brochure*. You do wisely to shift the scene of battle from land to sea—

* 'Biographical and Critical Essays,' by A. Hayward. Third Series, (Longmans, 1873) reprinted from the *Times*.

though I venture to doubt whether two or three years hence our navy will be in the high state of preparation you assume—under the auspices of the present Government; and I doubt still more whether Prussia would ever undertake to invade us—until she could make a much better figure than she does on your paper. She would first attack us through Holland. We might be insulted and outraged without being invaded—I have no great fear of descent on our shores. But I do think that our European engagements and interests require us to possess a reasonable land force, from which we could safely spare such a contingent to the aid of allies as would render our alliance valuable and our honour safe. However, all this is pure matter of opinion.

Ever yours,

LYTTON.

Lord Hatherley to Mr. Hayward.

31, Great George Street, S.W.,

DEAR HAYWARD,

July 1, 1871.

Thanks for "the Author's" copy of 'The Second Armada.'

It is a well-timed rebuke of the Panic-mongers—a real war would, I believe, make us something more like our old selves. Though I do not desire the remedy, but the old

"Come three to one, right sure am I,
If we can't beat them, we will try
To make old England's colours fly—"

which I used to sing at school (A.D. 1810–1818) is not, after all, so absurd as the puling lamentations over our decadence now in fashion.

Yours very sincerely,

HATHERLEY.

'The Purchase System' * was a commentary on that system in the army, written in the form of a letter to a leading journal, with the view to publication prior to the debates in the House of Lords on the Army Regulation Bill. It underwent material reduction and alteration, and was thus unavoidably delayed until after the practical decision of the question, when only a few copies were circulated at the end of July pretty nearly as originally written.

Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell to Mr. Hayward.

Keir, near Dunblane, N.B.,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Aug. 6, 1871.

Thanks for your 'Purchase System:' very pleasant reading, like all you write.

I think your case is unanswerable, and I have no fear that the Non-Purchase system will work very well, after the first start. But the start will be difficult at first, considering the new system will have to be worked in a considerable measure by unwilling hands.

You will probably set it down to Tory prejudice, but I have a great doubt of the *honesty* of the hands into which the army and everything else has fallen.

Their army savings we now see to have been thoroughly dishonest, and the collapse of Cardwell's campaign—even before any overt act has been done—looks the *ne plus ultra* of blundering stupidity.

If the thing was impossible, why was it started; if practicable, why has it been given up? With this sort of trifling now, I foresee no prospect of any great work being done next year; and as a dissolution approaches,

* 'The Purchase System,' by the author of 'The Second Armada.' (London: Harrison, 1871.)

of course, real reorganisation, which means cost, becomes more and more unlikely.

I certainly was no admirer of Gladstone, but I thought, with a majority of one-hundred-and-twenty, he might have done something—at least might have fulfilled some of the conditions of a strong Government in the face of the events of '70 and '71.

There is a good story in Lord Neave's address to one of the British Association lectures. A minister (probably Turkish) being asked by a rich and sick sinner if he thought a gift of £10,000 to the Church would do any good to his soul, replied: "No assurance can be given in these matters, but I think the experiment well worth trying."

Yours ever truly,

WILLIAM STIRLING-MAXWELL.

Mr. Hayward to Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell.

Athenæum Club,

Aug. 8, 1871.

MY DEAR STIRLING,

I find, on careful inquiry, that promotion goes on well in the Navy, and all undue favouritism is effectually checked by public and professional opinion. It will be the same in the Army. In fact, the dread of opinion and the sense of responsibility are morbidly strong, and the cause of much of the maladministration which has brought the Government into disgrace. This Berkshire encampment * blunder is really owing to the dread of incurring an expense of £90,000 or £100,000; and the *Megara* † was suffered to go because the Admiralty were

* The proposed manœuvres and camp of exercise, first arranged to be held in Berkshire, were transferred to the district between Aldershot and Chobham.

† A troop-ship conveying naval officers and stores to Australia

afraid to take the men and stores out of her on their own responsibility.

We want a little of the high-handed tone and manner of the aristocratic Ministries of the olden time. Now people are eternally thinking of what a section of the House of Commons or sundry constituencies will say, . . . belonging, not to the old governing class, but to the upper middle class, in whom the art of government has not yet become innate or hereditary.

They will just tide over the Session—*voilà tout!*

I am thinking of going for a few days to the Isle of Wight to join my sister, and then to Spa, where Wolff (having taken a house) offers me a room.

Best regards to Lady Anna, and believe me,

Ever truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

I believe I told you that "Alexandre Dumas," in the last *Quarterly*, is by me.

Mr. Hayward to Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell.

8, St. James's Street,

Nov. 27, 1871.

MY DEAR STIRLING,

I was about to write to congratulate you on your Edinburgh triumph,* which I regard more as a tribute to your character, position, and reputation than as a triumph of Toryism—in which light the Tory papers insist in regarding it. At all events, you had a worthy competitor.

I went last week to Hawarden Castle to meet Bright,

was found to be unseaworthy, and it became necessary to beach the ship at St. Paul's Island to prevent her foundering.

* On the 11th of November, Sir William Stirling-Maxwell had been elected Lord Rector of Edinburgh University, by a majority of ninety-two votes over Sir Roundell Palmer.

and had a great deal of talk with him. He talked freely of politics, and had some long conferences with Gladstone ; but his tone and manner were subdued, and from what I saw I should infer, that he had no immediate intention of returning to public life. He told me that his bodily health was still wavering, and he was evidently still nervous about himself. Gladstone was pleasant, as he always is as a companion ; conversation singularly rich and varied. He and the ladies of the families were much annoyed by the interpretation put upon his Greenwich quotation. So I wrote a letter, which appeared in the *Morning Post* of yesterday.*

Holland † is going to publish his 'Recollections,' which I propose reviewing in the next *Quarterly*. I told you that the "Byron and Tennyson" ‡ in the last number is mine. The Tennysonians make no fight. Gladstone told me that he agreed with me on the whole.

Kinglake and I have been much amused by the review of the Woolwich Cadets by the ex-Emperor, who was held up to them as a model of military virtue, just about

* Mr. Hayward's letter appeared in the *Morning Post* of Nov. 26. Mr. Gladstone had quoted the lines—

" People throughout the land,
Join in one social band,
And save yourselves.
If you would happy be,
Free from all slavery,
Banish all knavery,
And save yourselves——"

admitting that the book in which they occurred was questionable. People said the book was a publication of Mr. Bradlaugh, who was a contributor to its contents, and discredited the whole speech for containing such a quotation. Mr. Hayward's object was to assert, that if the sentiment was good, the source was a matter of indifference.

† Sir Henry Holland.

‡ Reprinted in 'Eminent Statesmen and Writers,' vol. ii.

the same time that the *Globe* and *Standard* were holding up Disraeli to the ingenuous youth of Glasgow as a bright example of the result obtainable by the union of genius and principle. I do not believe Imperialism has the ray of a chance for many years to come.

The pheasants will be very acceptable, as all our friends are in town. Best regards to Lady Anna, and believe me,

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to Mr. Hayward.

Hastings.

Feb. 4, 1872.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

“An awful mess!” It is indeed, and if there is a way out of it, we shall have small thanks for those who got us in.

Your recollection of my dislike to the treaty* is quite correct, and when I saw the treaty there was no question of such a case as the Americans have put forward.† I have no papers here, but I have written for those which were presented to the Houses last year, and expect to receive them to-morrow. I agree with you that a broad view, and moreover a positive one, should be taken at once. But the embarrassment will be very great, if the terms of the treaty *taken literally* should be found, however unintentionally on our side, to warrant the extension given by the Americans to their claims. The Speech is probably settled by this time; but if it is not more explicit than you apprehend, we must hope that Gladstone will speak out in the debate.

In a former instance of arbitration, the Americans objected with success to a sentence given by the King of

* The Treaty of Washington, 1871.

† Alluding to the ‘Indirect Claims.’

the Netherlands. I hear nothing of any division on the Address, and have declined Lord Granville's invitation to his Monday's dinner, having a cough to nurse; I shall much regret being kept away, if it so happens, by the same or other causes, when the debate comes on.

It would, I fear, be a fatal mistake if the Government were to use the language you suppose in your second note. Cushing,* I learn from London, is telegraphed as having left America for this country. Can any favourable inference be drawn from that circumstance?

Yours sincerely,
STRATFORD DE R.

Thanks for your reference to the *Quarterly*. I shall not fail to avail myself of it.

The next letter foreshadows the close of a long and affectionate friendship between the late Lord Dalling (Sir Henry Bulwer) and Mr. Hayward. Their acquaintance dated back to those early days of the London Debating Society, and had ripened, as time went on, into a cordial intimacy between the two, and on more than one occasion Mr. Hayward's friendship for Sir Henry stood the distinguished diplomat in good stead. In November 1849, Sir Henry Bulwer "was named Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, where he raised an enduring monument to his diplomatic ability by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty." He wrote to Mr. Hayward from Egypt—perhaps one of the last letters he ever wrote—commenting on the difficulties we had got into with the Americans, respecting the different construction they and we wanted to put on the interpretation of the

* Mr. Caleb Cushing, counsel for America in the settlement of the *Alabama* claims.

Treaty of Washington. On his way home from Egypt Sir Henry Bulwer was forced to stop at Malta by his failing health, and he died at Naples, on the 23rd of May, the morning after his arrival there from Malta. "He was past 68 when he died, but his vivacity was unabated, his vitality seemed unimpaired, and those who knew him best were so accustomed to see him overcoming matter by mind, that they were no less startled than saddened by the announcement that the most delightful of companions, the truest and most sympathising of friends, was taken from them."*

Lord Dalling (Sir Henry Bulwer) to Mr. Hayward.

Rhoda-on-the-Hill,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Feb. 17, 1872.

I cannot say with what pleasure I saw your handwriting again.

I do regret indeed not being in England. The prophecy I made in withdrawing my motion about America has been too closely fulfilled. Of course, the time to settle the question was when every sensible man in the United States was disgusted by Sumner's speech.† By allowing it to lie quiet on the public mind it sank into it, and has become now a semi-national theory. How, when our only inducement to make a treaty was to set this claim for indirect damages at rest, we could frame one which opened it, is to me miraculous. How

* "Lord Dalling and Bulwer," by A. Hayward. 'Biographical and Critical Essays,' vol. ii. (Longmans, 1873.) Less than a year after this, his brother, Lord Lytton, died, and thus Mr. Hayward lost another friend of half a century's standing.

† A violent anti-English speech made by Mr. Charles Sumner in the United States Senate, which procured the rejection of the Convention signed by Lord Clarendon and Mr. Revere Johnson.

they could introduce into such a document the term "growing out of," which would hardly occur to any one but a market-gardener, is also a miracle. As to the confidence displayed in American statesmen, who have never yet made a treaty they did not afterwards dispute, it is on a *par* with the rest. When I had to make a treaty with them, I took the trouble of going over all their own treaties, and only using in important passages such words as they had used, in the sense in which they had used them. Then, when they began their usual disputes about interpretation, I quoted their own authority. All their own newspapers acknowledged I was right.

But I fancy, after all, that the predominating demon was Fear—always Fear! We were afraid of saying, boldly and straightforwardly, "We will have nothing to do with moderate damages; and that must be made clear; or we can never make the other sacrifices of dignity and interest which we are about to lay on the altar of peace." We were afraid to be plain-spoken, and trusted to the forbearance of the Americans, or any other miracle, to save us from the necessity.

There is not another Government in the whole world so ignominiously pusillanimous as ours, and yet it is the Government of a brave people. If, however, we have treated the matter properly, I do not see much danger of war. We should not be fussy, or doubtful, but say at once, "If you put this interpretation upon the treaty we don't, and never thought it could be put; and therefore, if you hold to your sense of the document as we to ours, no treaty exists."

You don't suppose the Americans have ever fancied we should submit to be jockeyed in this way. They count probably on getting something out of us and our apprehensions, but even this notion we should firmly but courteously check. I know my friends well, and would engage to settle things without loss of caste or copper;

but the funniest notion was that of the *Times*, referring to the Arbitration with preconceived determination not to abide by it if against us!

Foolishly enough I undertook a trip up the Nile, which is usually healthy at this time of the year. But this year the weather has been peculiar; I was caught in a hail-storm, got a fever, and been detained in this small village for some time dangerously ill; now, I trust, better, and hoping to be in England in the Spring.

But I am sick of these wanderings. England is the only place where one gets good food and good company; and what with risks in having bad rooms, bad cooking, &c., I fancy one is better after all shut up in a good room in London. Good-night, my dear fellow—God bless you!

Yours ever affectionately,

H. B.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

8, St. James's Street,
May 10, 1872.

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,

It is the present intention of the Derbyites to raise a discussion, prior to the adjournment, on the American question, unless something definitive is announced, *i.e.* that the Indirect Claims have been withdrawn, or that the Arbitration is at an end. How far these tactics will succeed is quite another matter. I cannot think that, if a positive assurance is given that the Indirect Claims shall in no case go before the Arbitrators, the Houses or the country will require the negotiations (if still pending) to be broken off. I met Adams* at dinner at Lord Granville's yesterday, and told him the impossibility (as I thought) of the Government giving way. He said he

* Mr. C. F. Adams, formerly Minister in London for the United States, and at this time acting as Arbitrator to settle the claims of Great Britain and America arising out of the civil war.

felt the difficulty, though the point of difference was only one of form. And so (I told him) was our expression of regret, to which so much importance was attached. Monck * says that the manner in which the diplomatic correspondence has been conducted has produced the most favourable effect on American opinion, and that they are hourly becoming more friendly. I will try to get this stated in the *Times*.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell to Mr. Hayward.

Keir, Dunblane.

Sept. 27, 1872.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

I thank you very much for your pleasant little Lansdowne tract.† I remember it well in the *Sat. Rev.*, and have read it again with renewed pleasure. Nevertheless I protest against this tractarian style of reprinting. Since your two volumes of 'Essays'—one of the most entertaining books of its class that we have—you must have written enough to fill at least four more. You should really collect these in some accessible and permanent form. Brinsley Marley, who has just gone, made the same remark yesterday on taking up the Lansdowne article, and I hope you will think of it and act on it.

Lord and Lady Derby have been here for a few days—both very pleasant—though she seems ill and anxious, which cannot be for want of care and attention on his part. I know no man whose daily talk reflects more constantly the good sense and fairness of his

* Lord Monck, formerly Governor-General of Canada.

† Mr. Hayward at this time republished some of his biographical sketches separately, for the purpose of giving away among his friends.

speeches. It is some consolation to those who still believe that Conservatism may have some backbone still left, to have a prospective leader with so much ballast in his character.

Lowe's speech at Glasgow * seems to have been a success, and in the main a good one. His remarks on being generous with the public money were excellent, and his Livingstone illustration telling. I wish, however, he had carried them out, or at least tried to get them carried out, when our Washington humiliation was being hatched. I hope and believe the country will require some better excuse than he made for the ignominious tribute he is about to pay in the name of England. It was characteristic, too, of him—his inability to help giving a private kick on his own account at the Arbitrators—but enough of a miserable business for which there is no help, and which even the punishment of its authors would not mend.

We expect Mrs. Norton here from Raith on Monday.

Yours ever very truly,

WILLIAM STIRLING-MAXWELL.

Mr. Hayward to Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell.

[EXTRACT.]

MY DEAR STIRLING,

8, St. James's Street,
Sept. 30, 1872.

Many thanks for your letter and suggestion. I have quite enough to fill four volumes more, and half, I think, are well worth republication.† I made no stipulation,

* In acknowledgment of the gift of the freedom of the city.

† Mr. Hayward appears to have acted upon Sir William's suggestion, for in 1873 he republished 3 vols. of 'Biographical and Critical Essays,' which included some of the articles he had written since the last publication in 1858.

but it is now an understood thing, that after a certain time a contributor may republish his articles.

The whole conduct of the Government in managing the American affair is pretty generally condemned, and I am glad Cockburn * has vindicated us.

I agree with you about Lord Derby. One never discovers that he is a party man in conversation, and his speeches *out of office* are always liberal and fair; but he is a thoroughgoing party man *in office*, and does Dizzy's bidding without scruple.

I was at Lady Waldegrave's a week with the Schencks † and rather took to them. They are good-natured and intelligent, with a good deal of fun.

Best regards to Lady Anna, and believe me,

Ever truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

I have reviewed a very curious book, 'Journal of a French Diplomatist in Italy,' for the forthcoming *Quarterly*.

Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Hayward.

Hawarden Castle, Chester,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Oct. 22, 1872.

In the year 1855, shortly after the Palmerston Government was formed, I stated in the House of Commons with exactitude my version of the Palmerston message—I rather think, by reading them a letter of mine to Lord Derby. If I am right in this recollection, that letter may be taken as a tolerably authentic record.

Certainly it is my clear impression, that Lord Derby's

* Sir A. E. Cockburn, Lord Chief Justice of England, was English representative at the Geneva tribunal for the settlement of the *Alabama* claims, and protested against the finding of the tribunal.

† General R. C. Schenck was U. S. Minister at St. James's.

message to Sidney Herbert and me was so framed that it fell to the ground with Palmerston's non-acceptance.

Neither can I say the *Q. R.* * is right in giving it to be understood, that then the First Lordship fell to Palmerston. It was offered to Lord Lansdowne. Lord Lansdowne sent for me, and asked if I would remain.† He said that if I would, he would proceed with his arrangements. But I declined (an act which I soon and long repented of), and, whether for that or other reasons, he desisted from his endeavour. The communication through Palmerston was on Wednesday, January 31, '55. My interview with Lord Lansdowne was on Friday, February 2. This is authentic.

I saw Lord Palmerston twice on the 31st: *before*, and *after*, he had seen Clarendon. It is said and supposed that Clarendon dissuaded him. This, however, I do not know.‡

The *Q. R.* is extravagant in the doctrine, that the Duke's Government was formed to carry Roman Catholic emancipation.

What does he mean by saying the Government disorganised the Board of Ordnance by appointing Lord Raglan to command the army? It worked, I think, just as usual.

I will read your article.

Sincerely yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

* October 1872.

† As Chancellor of the Exchequer.

‡ Lord Clarendon was never in favour of such a coalition; but it is improbable that he ever influenced Lord Palmerston on this occasion. (Private MS.)

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

MY DEAR GLADSTONE, 8, St. James's Street,
Oct. 29, 1872.

I can leave out after due deliberation in the reprint.* It always struck me as odd that you should decline to join Lord Lansdowne and then join Lord Palmerston, and I always understood that you and Herbert and Cardwell were over-persuaded by Sir James Graham. Cowper-Temple is going to write to the *Times* about the aspersion on Lord Palmërston. I had a letter from him this morning from Broadlands. Equally false and foolish is the assertion, that some of your, or Disraeli's, friends would deny that your principles were as thin air when they stood in the way of your ambition. I am sure *your* friends would deny it as regards you, for no man so obviously gave up (what he thought) early errors from conviction and at a sacrifice. If you had sided with the Protectionists in 1846, or joined Lord Derby at a later period, you would be indisputable head of the Conservative party and Disraeli would be *nowhere*. You would have been Premier long ago, and (what I dare say you value as much) you would have remained Member for the University of Oxford.

With best regards to Mrs. Gladstone,
Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

DEAR LADY EMILY, 8, St. James's Street,
Dec. 8, 1872.

Many thanks for your note. I saw Count Beust† last evening, and he said he should be punctual at the trysting-place, as I intend to be.

* Of the article on "Lord Lansdowne," in which reference is made to the subject of Lord Lansdowne's offer to Mr. Gladstone. (*Vide* 'Biographical and Critical Essays,' vol. ii. p. 311.)

† Austrian Ambassador at St. James's.

The market is overstocked with translators, as indeed with writers of all sorts. The only chance is to get hold of a popular work first, and even then the odds are that you find competitors early in the field. I have not read the book you mention. Madame Bulow told me of a German novel worth looking after, called, I think, 'Krone und Zepter'—the scene of which is laid in the war between Prussia and Austria, and Bismarck a leading character.

If I hear of anything, I will let you know.

Ever truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mme. de Puliga's 'Sévigné'* improves as she proceeds.

Mrs. Norton to Mr. Hayward.†

Frampton Court, Dorchester,

INDUSTRIOUS AVOCAT,

Dec. 28, 1872.

I will not delay answering about the quotation—though this is Saturday, and you will not have letters on Sunday!

There is no copy of Walter Scott's Poetry in this well-furnished house! But the passage you quote is in 'The Bridal of Triermain,' in the description of the Joust or Tournament, where—

“Lanval, with the fairy lance,
And Dinadam with lively glance,
And Launcelot, who looked askance
Evermore on the Queen—”‡

distinguished themselves.

* 'Madame de Sévigné, her Correspondence and Contemporaries.' By the Comtesse de Puliga. 2 vols.

† This is Mrs. Norton's last letter that can be published. She died on the 15th of June, 1877.

‡ The quotation is not quite accurate. See 'Bridal of Triermain,' canto ii. 13.

I think the lines you want run thus :—

“ And still these lovers' fame survives
For truth so constant shown ;
There were two who loved their neighbours' wives,
And one who loved his own.” *

the one being Lord Caradoc, or Craddock. You will easily find the passage, in that brief, lovely, and *undervalued* poem, which describes how—

“ All too well sad Guendolen
Hath taught the faithlessness of men
That child of hers should pity, when
Their meed they undergo.” †

Not that I have found men inconstant—but very much the reverse—perhaps kings and princes are an exception. While you are looking out the quotation, observe the lovely description of the girls who disarm Arthur and play with his armour ! How pretty is the *trying-on* by one girl on her glossy little head of the *Helmet* of that large warrior !

“ Then screamed 'twixt laughter and surprise
To feel its depth o'erwhelm her eyes.” ‡

It was read to me, first, in the unforgotten days which idiots and sensualists think *could* only be filled with commonplace flatteries and fooleries—but which held, for me, the best intellectual tutorship any young eager mind ever received !

Like the old Brighton landlady who said, “ You live in the house, you know ; but everything else is an extra ; ” I have always set the *other* sort of love down “ as an extra.” An extra, too, which may be bought too dear, as all extras are.

* ‘ Bridal of Triermain,’ canto ii. 18.

† Ibid. canto ii. 21.

‡ Ibid. canto i. 17.

Thanks for the little *brochure* of Lord Lansdowne! I read it over again the other day at Keir.

It is *far* the best notice that appeared; and page 7 the truest estimate of him and his value—so also at page 21: "*He listened as well as he talked,*" is perfect.

I remember, when first reading the notice, thinking the quotation at page 28 (from *me*) might mislead people; for, after all, my "wild appeals" were not for help in any way, but justice about my children and reputation.

He once asked me to let him buy the MS. of a novel, and I refused, saying it was meant for assistance.

Not that I should have been ashamed of his help; I would have been very *glad*, if he had remembered me as he did —

I wonder it is not *more* done in this world of struggles.

How curious was that incident the other day, of the fortune of Mrs. Brown going to the Queen, for lack of heirs! And the poor old lady lived—I hear—in constant dread of being robbed, and of being *known* to be rich. My grandson Richard* is getting on well in languages. He is hard at work on German, and I will give him your translation of 'Faust' to help him.

We all stay in the country till his holidays are ended, and then I shall be in Chesterfield Street for a little while. I have been poorly almost the whole year past!

Motley† broke a blood-vessel some weeks since, but recovered; and is gone to Poltimore, to welcome in the new year, 1873. Wishing you health and prosperity for that unseen interval of time, whose advent is ushered

* Now Lord Grantley.

† Mr. Algernon Sheridan, the eldest son of Mr. R. B. Sheridan, and nephew of Mrs. Norton, married Miss Motley, the daughter of the distinguished American historian and diplomat, and Mr. R. B. Sheridan's daughter Florence married Lord Poltimore.

in for *me* by the Keir boys * anxiously *working me a kettle-holder*,

Believe me,
Yours ever truly,
C. CLIENT.

Excuse scrawliness, I am so hurried. I feared to miss the post to-morrow, so wrote at once about the verses.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Stanhope.

8, St. James's Street,
Jan. 13, 1873.

DEAR LORD STANHOPE,

I return with many thanks the paper on 'Madame de Sévigné.' † It unluckily reached me too late, as *mon histoire était finie*, or I might have borrowed a hint or two. But I have taken much the same view.

I have been hard at work on a new edition of my 'Essays,' in which your name frequently figures, especially in 'Pearls and Mock Pearls of History.' I talked over most of the points with George Lewis when writing it, and Van de Weyer has looked it carefully over in its corrected and complete shape, so now I think it will stand criticism.

I am just starting for Dudbrook with the Hochschilds, Arthur Kinnaird, &c.

Your letter settled the *wasted* point. ‡ I mentioned it in my "Byron and Tennyson" article, in Oct. 1871.

With best regards to Lady Stanhope,

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

* The present Sir John Stirling-Maxwell and his brother.

† Mr. Hayward reviewed the Comtesse de Puliga's 'Madame de Sévigné,' in the January *Quarterly*. 'Eminent Statesmen and Writers,' vol. ii. (Murray, 1880.)

‡ The correct reading of the line in 'Childe Harold,' canto iv. : "Thy waters washed them power," instead of the old and erroneous reading "Thy waters wasted them."

In Mr. Hayward's Essay on 'The Pearls and Mock Pearls of History,' he refers to the terrible *coup de théâtre* of Frederick the Great in the tent of the officer who, when all lights had been forbidden under pain of death, was found finishing a letter to his newly-married wife by the light of a taper. The offender besought pardon, but was repelled by the stern disciplinarian saying, 'Finish your letter, sir, and add a postscript: "Before this reaches you, I shall be shot for disobedience of orders"'—and shot he was, the next morning. Mrs. Norton had based a beautiful song upon this event.* When Mr. Hayward published a collection of his 'Essays, of which this was one, the *Spectator* took him to task for "a certain exaggerativeness" in some of his anecdotes, and questioned the accuracy of this incident in Frederick's camp, which Mr. Hayward had tested when Mrs. Norton was writing her song some years before. The discussion gave rise to the following correspondence.

Miss Norton to Mr. R. B. Sheridan.

DEAREST UNCLE BRINNEY,

March 5, 1873.

Grandmama tells me to write you this: Hayward has been reviewed in the *Spectator*; Hayward has been contradicted by the *Spectator*; Hayward has been irate with the *Spectator*. All about what historical authority

* "The watch was set in Frederick's camp, and all in darkness sleeping,

Save one, who in a vigil lamp, forbidden light was keeping;

Forgot his Gen'ral's stern command, forgot a soldier's duty!

He thought upon his heart's best friend, his young wife in her beauty.

His head was bent in act to write, the memories gushing o'er him,

When, thro' the gloom of gathering night, stood Frederick's self before him!"

there is for the story on which Grandmama founded a song called "Frederick's Camp." She wrote to Lord Napier, bidding him ask Carlyle what the authority was. Carlyle's answer is so amusing in its vehemence that she bids me write you a copy of it.

Mr. Carlyle to Lord Napier.

[COPY.]

5, Cheyne Row, Chelsea,

DEAR LORD NAPIER,

March 3, 1873.

Will you present my homages and very kind remembrances to Mrs. Norton, and say that there is not anywhere in nature the faintest vestige of evidence for that poor story about Friedrich and the officer writing to his mother, &c. ; and that I clearly believe it to be as perfect a fable as ever a spasmodic fool invented in his own idle brain or caught out of empty rumour, and was at the pains to write down in some vague anecdote book or sentimental tirade, and send floating into a foolish century ! In no work historical, or in the least pretending to be historical, did I ever find it mentioned or hinted at, as indeed it would have greatly surprised me to do ; for the thing is not only untrue, but inconceivable and incredible ; unworthy of a moment's notice from anybody that has gained the faintest notion of Friedrich's character and ways.*

With many regards, I remain,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

T. CARLYLE.

* Lord Macaulay had referred Mr. Hayward to the old edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' article 'Frederick' (1797), for confirmation of this anecdote, the authenticity of which Lord Macaulay had never doubted.

Observation by Sir Wm. Stirling-Maxwell.

“Carlyle’s note is very absurd. I have rarely seen *Not true* put into so many needless words.”

Mr. Hayward to Mrs. Norton.

Many thanks to you and Carlotta. Carlyle’s letter is a good specimen of his characteristic and shallow dogmatism. I never yet followed him to the authorities without finding him wrong. In my ‘Essay on Marshal Saxe,’ I have proved from signed documents that Carlyle’s laboured account of the battle of Fontenoy is essentially incorrect.* He is a man of genius, undoubtedly, but he has injured instead of improving literature and taste; and, as to his conversation, if he spoke English and attended to the rules of good-breeding, its charm for the mass of his admirers would disappear.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

DEAR LADY EMILY,

8, St. James’s Street,

March 15, 1873.

The vessel is off the rocks, and not the worse for the shock. † The Government fortunately took the wiser course, but they were strongly urged to dissolve; and when I saw Gladstone on Wednesday evening he was wavering, under a notion that Disraeli would never give up a chance, nor would he, if he could help himself. But the determination of Hardy and others left him no alternative.

I have been reading ‘Um Scepter und Kronen.’ The Hanoverian politics are a clog upon it, and I doubt

* ‘Marshal Saxe.’ ‘Biographical and Critical Essays,’ vol. i. pp. 265-272. (Longmans, 1873.)

† On the 11th of March, Mr. Gladstone’s Irish University Bill was defeated by a majority of three. His Government resigned, and Mr. Disraeli was sent for to form a Government, but was unable to do so.

whether a translation would succeed. It is by Meding,* who gives himself a prominent part. He has begun, in *feuilleton*, in a German paper, a novel comprising the next period, the Franco-German War, which may be worth looking after. I will inquire the name of the paper and let you know. I am sure to see some one who can tell me this evening at Lady Waldegrave's.

Marie Fox (the Princess)† will run a risk (if she is not well advised) with her book on Holland House. To do it well would require a perfect familiarity with the literary and political annals of the last two centuries.

I dined at the Clanricardes' yesterday, with Lord and Lady Halifax, Lord and Lady Sydney, Lord and Lady Bessborough, &c., and it was curious to see the excitement they were in. But I have not heard of any proposed change in the Ministry; and at four o'clock this afternoon it does not appear that Disraeli has notified his decision to the Queen.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,

Athenæum-Club (1873).

The Bishop of Peterborough (Magee) told the Dean of Durham, on Saturday, that your Irish University Bill was as good as could be under the circumstances; that it ought to have pleased all parties; and that the Catholics were especially wrong in rejecting it. The Dean wished this to be repeated to you. What a time you must have had of it, owing to the tricks of Disraeli.‡

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

* "Gregor Samarow."

† Princess Marie of Lichtenstein.

‡ Mr. Disraeli, having defeated Mr. Gladstone's Irish University Bill, failed to form a Ministry of his own, consequently, Mr. Gladstone resumed office.

Mr. Hayward to Dr. William Smith.

Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.,

MY DEAR SMITH.

April 22, 1873.

Many thanks. My articles have been successful under your editorship, because you confide in me and let me alone. I will see to 'Beaumarchais' as soon as I have done with Mrs. Grote.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Lord Dufferin to Mr. Hayward.*

[EXTRACT.]

Government House, Ottawa,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Nov. 18, 1873.

I have just finished your last two volumes, and I cannot say how delighted I am with them. I have never read anything so agreeable for a long time.

What I now wish especially to ask you is,—whether you happen to have come across any more of Charley Sheridan's good sayings besides the one that you have recorded. It seems such a pity that that bright creature should have passed away leaving so few traces of his liveliness and wit,—indeed, one may say the same with regard to Frank. I was too young at the time to pre-occupy myself with such matters, or to become the *sacer vates* of the family, but you have done as much for them as anybody.

The conversation of Tom Sheridan, the Father, must have sparkled like fireworks, yet almost every gleam is quenched. What is equally unfortunate, the Art of their generation has been so bad as rather to belie than to preserve the beauty of his children.†

* Lord Dufferin, then Governor-General of Canada, and now Viceroy of India.

† The late Duchess of Somerset, Lady Dufferin, and Mrs. Norton, the daughters of Mr. Tom Sheridan, the son of the celebrated Sheridan, were so remarkable for their beauty that it is curious no really good picture of them exists.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Salisbury.

[EXTRACT.]

DEAR LORD SALISBURY, 8, St. James's Street,
Jan. 26, 1874.

Alderson (whom I saw yesterday) thought it unlikely you would be brought back earlier than you intended by the Dissolution, which has come on everybody by surprise. The thought first struck Gladstone, as he lay rolled up in blankets to perspire away his cold; was mentioned *as a thought* to daughter and private secretary; then rapidly ripened into a resolution and submitted to the Cabinet. The secret was wonderfully well kept by everybody. The Liberals are delighted, and the Disraelites puzzled and annoyed. Gladstone's address is obviously open to criticism both in substance and style, but Disraeli has not hit the blots, the worst being the vagueness of the financial prospects held out.

I called at Stuart Wortley's yesterday afternoon, just after the Gladstones had called there on their way to church. Mrs. Wortley says she never saw him in better spirits. I hear he is safe at Greenwich. The estimate of the Liberal Whips is that their majority will be somewhat diminished, but consolidated.

I suppose you get the *Quarterly*? "Mérimée" is mine, and "Winckelmann" by Cartwright very good, I think. Smith is gone to Berlin. It is understood that James's election for Taunton will be held good, and that his chances of *re-election* are improved by the petition. Cockburn talks of occupying from eight to ten days in his summing up; * which is quite useless, except (as he thinks) to disabuse the public mind, for the jury have clearly made up their minds.

Our weather has been very mild, seldom cold enough

* The Tichborne Trial.

to make one long for the South. But we have had a fair allowance of fogs.

With best regards to Lady Salisbury,

Believe me,

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Lytton.

8, St. James's Street,

Feb. 2, 1874.

MY DEAR LYTTON,*

The Athenæum elections are put off till March. I have no doubt of your being chosen amongst the nine for the year, who are taken in batches of three each, all to be chosen before May. I have read the greatest part of your 'Fables' † with the highest admiration. Fancy and thought could not be more happily blended in poetic form. A time of political excitement is commonly unfavourable to literature, but I never remember a general election which excited so little interest, except in those personally engaged; the reason being, that no important changes are (or rather were) anticipated. Things do not look so favourable to the Government as at starting, and it is just possible that parties will be so evenly matched in the next House of Commons as to render anything like a fixed system of administration an impossibility. There has been some reaction against the Ministry. Nothing is more striking than the absence of new men of mark. The next House will be more than half made up of successful men of business or persons of local influence, brewers, bankers, or small squires. The lawyers will hold their own, but the modern lawyers are by no means a distinguished race. They have degenerated as much as the French Académiciens.

* The present Earl. The first Lord Lytton died Jan. 18, 1873.

† 'Fables in Song,' 2 vols.

Gladstone thinks himself quite safe at Greenwich,* and is not at all the worse for his open-air appearance.

With best regards to Lady Lytton,

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

8, St. James's Street,

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,

Feb. 11, 1874.

I send you a letter† which (I think) expresses the general opinion on the most important question you have to decide. Forster told me that the article in the *Times* in his favour practically decided the election, and that he had 15,000 copies of it printed off and circulated. The first part of the letter refers to this. You fall more by your merits than your defects—a great comfort.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mrs. Grote to Mr. Hayward.

Ridgeway, Feb. 12, 1874.

Yours received to-day. Many thanks! I have finished your article on Mérimée.‡ I got through it; but, I am bound to say, not without a running comment of disgust and contempt at the *diavolo coxcomb* you have sketched to the life. I really feel a higher respect for myself, for having always experienced a feeling of dislike towards

* Mr. Gladstone was returned for Greenwich second on the poll. Mr. Boord, Conservative, was first.

† This was a letter addressed by Mr. Delane, the editor of the *Times*, to Mr. Hayward, evidently with the intention of its being shown to Mr. Gladstone. The general election which followed the dissolution of Parliament had placed Mr. Gladstone's Government in a minority in the new House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone immediately resigned, and Mr. Disraeli became Prime Minister, and met the new House.

‡ *Quarterly Review*, January 1874.

Mérimée, since reading the review. Considering that you are not by any means free from a certain admiration for *virtue* yourself, it is a clever *tour de force* to have depicted so strange a compound of genius and cynicism without enhancing the odious qualities of the man by a malicious touch or two. This you probably deemed superfluous; so it was, effectively, though I own the desire would have been *plus fort que moi*, to gibbet such a scarecrow of talent as it deserved. I imagine the *Inconnue* must have been the first *femme honnête* whom Mérimée ever came in contact with? In every other instance *l'honnêteté* was ever distasteful to Prosper Mérimée; but here one sees that it acted as a provocative to his *blasé* senses.

No: I never did contemplate such a ruin, such a wilful disfigurement, by bloated self-conceit, of an originally fine subject, as this highly-gifted coxcomb of yours. Cynic is too honest a designation for him. Coxcombry *pur et simple* predominates in all he does, says, or pretends to think. Enough of Prosper, however.

Yours most truly,

H. GROTE.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Salisbury.

8, St. James's Street,

Feb. 23, 1874.

DEAR LORD SALISBURY,

I was very glad to hear you had joined the Government.* Indeed, it struck me that under the circumstances you really had no alternative.

Gladstone certainly declines the formal lead of the Opposition, and talks of letting his house after Easter. He is a good deal worn and tired, and wants rest, but I suspect that about this time next year, if not before, you will find him as eager for the fray as ever.

* As Secretary of State for India.

The Opposition leadership must be put into Commission for the present, or be undertaken by Forster or Lord Hartington.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Lord Salisbury to Mr. Hayward.

[EXTRACT.]

20, Arlington Street, S.W.,

Feb. 23, 1874.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

There were many causes that made office unattractive to me ; but it did not seem to me that I could with propriety decline it.

I am sure that your prophecy with respect to Gladstone is correct : and that after a year of repose, he will find retirement very dull.

Yours very truly,
SALISBURY.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Emily Peel.

DEAR LADY EMILY,

Feb. 27, 1874.

With much pleasure on Friday next. I had a long talk with Gladstone yesterday. He thinks the party in too heterogeneous a state for regular leadership ; that it must be let alone to shake into consistency. He will attend till Easter, and then quit the field for a time. He does not talk of permanent abdication.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Mrs. Grote.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Sept. 29, 1874.

You are certainly a most wonderful woman ! To produce such a memoir * as this at command ! It is really

* Of Lady William Russell.

first-rate. Don't give it to any newspaper at all. Print a hundred copies, or two hundred. The real public is the people with whom we live, or those whose opinion we care about. Let me know when it will be most convenient to you to see me to-morrow. I am really quite delighted. At all events, they can't say, *we* are breaking down.

Ever yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Miss Hayward.

MY DEAREST FANNY,

Feb. 5, 1875.

The Session has opened without exciting the smallest interest. I went last night to a great party at Lady Granville's, and I dine to-day with Lady Waldegrave. I have just been talking to Archbishop Manning, who has given me his answer to Gladstone.* He is very agreeable and communicative. I find he is in friendly correspondence with Gladstone, notwithstanding their differences.

Ever yours,

A. H.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. R. B. Sheridan.†

[EXTRACT.]

8, St. James's Street,

MY DEAR SHERIDAN,

March 15, 1875.

I feel very much obliged to you for your letters. Thanks also for the epigram, and the French sketch of

* 'The Vatican Decrees.' By Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster. (Longmans, 1875.)

† The brother of Mrs. Norton and Lady Dufferin. This gentleman and Mr. C. P. Villiers are, perhaps, the only men now living who can remember Mr. Hayward's arrival in London society, and had an acquaintance with him extending over half a century.

a Foxhunter. I have seen things equally exaggerated on the French stage.

I was with Gladstone at Hatfield the week before last, and I dined with him last Saturday at the German Embassy. There is no getting him to talk of anything but Vatican and Popery. In the third book of the 'Dunciad' occurs this couplet, in the mouth of Settle :—

“ Though long my party built on me their hopes
For writing pamphlets and for roasting popes.”

Did you hear of Newdegate coming up to Gladstone, fraternising, and saying “ I knew you would come over to *me* at last ” ?

The Government have made a mess of their Judicature Bill, and have done themselves and the House of Lords a great deal of harm. Dizzy does not look well, and has not, I think, much *go* left in him. Kenealy will have a fair hearing, but he has really nothing to say. Lord Hartington gets on very well. Gladstone told me he did not think it would be *fair* in him (G.) to take part in an important debate. Best regards to Mrs. Sheridan, and believe me,

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mrs. Grote to Mr. Hayward.

[EXTRACT.]

The Ridgeway,
Sept. 12 [probably], 1875.

Yes, I shall make an effort to get to London for a fortnight or so, about 23rd or 24th, and hope to have more than one good prose with you. Did I tell you about James's* surprise and almost incredulous manner,

* The late Lord Justice James.

when I told him you were the writer of the "Venice" * article. He regarded the paper as a highly-finished piece of historical "refresher," touched in with the lights of actual sentiment. We talked a good while over your retrospective survey. He thought it a higher-pitched article than you were accustomed to compose for periodicals.

This is, to a certain degree, true; because light literature, biography especially, is worse served now than any one department of the literary field; and accordingly, you, as the avowed penman of a certain class of composition, come to be looked upon as a special workman. I am very glad you have shown yourself qualified to handle historical subjects with instructive insight. My remark on the new point of view of the Treaty of Campo Formio has struck a chord in those hearts to whom I have imparted it. It has indeed a wide bearing.

Yours very truly,
H. GROTE.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Carlingford.

[EXTRACT.]

MY DEAR CARLINGFORD, 8, St. James's Street,
Nov. 27, 1875.

I understand that the four millions are to be paid for a fourth of the Suez Canal. † Surely Parliament will never sanction such a step as this. It is Disraeli all over—*de l'audace, de l'audace, toujours de l'audace!* If we had bought the whole, the affair might have a different aspect: but to buy a partnership can only be

* "The Republic of Venice." *Quarterly Review*, October 1874.; reproduced in 'Eminent Statesmen and Writers,' vol. ii. (Murray, 1880.)

† The four millions purchased 177,000 shares.

the source of constant embarrassment. It would sound better, to uphold Egypt from a broad political point of view, than from a pecuniary and interested motive. But the affair is so completely a surprise, that one hardly knows what to think or say of it.

Delane mentioned it to me yesterday with an injunction of secrecy. He said a *fourth*, but it appears more. He says the space occupied by financial topics compels him to postpone literary notices. Best regards to Lady Waldegrave.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mrs. Grote to Mr. Hayward.

The Ridgeway, Jan. 24, 1876.

Thanks, dear friend, for your chatty letter. I have read "St. Beuve"* with much curiosity, for he really was unknown to me as a literary star. I never cared for his 'Lundis,' I confess, and he was, as a man, ignored by the "petite Eglise" circles in which *our* social pleasures were found. Now, I comprehend why. What a brilliant career a journeyman writer *could* make of it, during the reign of Louis Philippe! As to St. Beuve's "principles," who wanted such things then? He wrote for whoever would hire his pen, and in the eighteenth century a whole string of Englishmen did likewise. His mosquito bites at Chateaubriand attest the consciousness of his own mean personal position in the lettered republic, as do also his snarls at another magnate thereof, Cousin. Altogether, your presentment of St. Beuve is curious, and I for one would not deal with him too hardly for going where good pay was to be had *quand même*. We have had samples of the literary journeyman ourselves, and we know the physiology of

* *Quarterly Review*, January 1876.

the creature. It is creditable to English society that it scarcely finds its way into a decent *salon*, even in these days of ravenous craving for the small stimulants furnished by the lower members of the Press gang. You know how difficult it is to render virtue interesting (I regret to confess that the Historian * himself admitted this sad truth), and how easy the converse is. Still, there *is* room for an individual "pattern man" to come on the stage now and then. When I portrayed Ary Scheffer, I made *him* out such, and somehow succeeded, but I am *afraid* I suppressed his weaknesses! You have helped St. Beuve's reputation by your "warranty" at the close of the review. I hope people will accept the bail, and let off the loose but gifted subject "easy."

Yours very truly,

H. GROTE.

Mr. Hayward to Dr. William Smith.

8, St. James's Street,

April 1876.

MY DEAR SMITH,

Thanks for your letter. I quite agree with you about the *Edinburgh Review*. But I fancy the reference to Crokerism points quite as much to the articles on the "Greville Memoirs" † and "St. Simon" ‡ as to that on Macaulay. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!*

The truth is, nothing could be more opposed to Crokerism than the tone of my articles—at least, during your editorship—and there was quite as much Crokerism in Macaulay as in Croker. Witness his Boswell article, in which he glories in the detection of many minute errors, and writes in a spirit of contemptuous asperity.

In the "St. Simon" I exposed a gross mis-statement of

* Mr. George Grote.

† "The Greville Memoirs." *Quarterly Review*, January 1875.

‡ "Memoirs of St. Simon." *Quarterly Review*, October 1875.

Macaulay's as to the death of Louvois. The allusion may have some reference to this. Look at the last *Athenæum* on the 'Life.' It is about the best thing that has appeared yet. I am glad you have taken a little of the shine out of Green.* He has a good deal of the Macaulay flash, to which his popularity is similarly owing.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Sir Wm. Stirling-Maxwell.

Pencarrow, Bodmin,

Aug. 15, 1876.

MY DEAR STIRLING,

Baron von Hübner, who has been staying here, regrets much having missed seeing you in London, having read your 'Charles the Fifth' with great pleasure. He is going to Scotland towards the end of the month, and I told him you would certainly be glad to see him at Keir if you were there. Shall you be? As Houghton mistook him for Baron von Hügel, and proposed him by that name at the Athenæum, I may as well say that he was Austrian Ambassador at Paris, and afterwards at Rome, Author of 'Promenade autour du Monde,' 'Vie de Sixte-Quint,' &c. &c. I found him a most agreeable companion, speaking English fluently.

We have no one here at present but the Duchess of St. Albans and the Torringtons. The Morleys and others are expected. I shall stay till next month.

Ferguson, in his 'History of Architecture,' says "Strawberry Hill" revived the taste for Gothic architecture. Is this true, or was it a benefit, if true?

Dizzy's peerage was just what I expected.

Ever truly yours,
A. HAYWARD.

* The author of the 'History of the English People.'

Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave.

MY DEAR LADY WALDEGRAVE, Oct. 7, 1876.

Owing to some difficulty about the political article, the publication of the *Quarterly* will be delayed till the 17th or 18th. I will let you know when the publication is fixed.

Lord Derby's despatch* put an entirely new complexion on the Eastern Question, so far at least as England is concerned. It does him great credit, but in reality he has simply followed in the track which Gladstone marked out for him. It will be rather embarrassing to that part of the public and the press which has endeavoured to meet the indignation movement with *persiflage*.

At the Cabinet on Wednesday last, it was resolved to put the strongest possible pressure on Turkey to accept the proposals of the Six Powers.†

There is a good deal of jealousy of Russia amongst political people, but any ulterior design Russia may have on Constantinople must be indefinitely postponed. None of the Great Powers would hear of it, and the Russians state (I believe, with truth) that in the present state of their finances and their army, it would not suit their book.

The power of public opinion is a remarkable feature of this Eastern Question. Russia is so strongly impelled

* Of the 21st of September. Sir Henry Elliot, our Minister at Constantinople, had been directed to bring to the Sultan's notice the result of Mr. Baring's enquiries into the alleged atrocities, to demand punishment of the offenders, and to propose administrative autonomy in the provinces, accompanied with guarantees against future misgovernment. On the 5th of October he was instructed again to demand an armistice of not less than one month, and in case of refusal to leave Constantinople.

† For an armistice between Turks and Servians.

by it that the Government would be endangered by holding back. Austria is compelled by the Magyar to oppose the construction of any new Slav state. The Porte is afraid of exasperating its Mahometan subjects by what might be deemed unworthy concessions. The English Government is completely controlled by opinion.

Loyd Lindsay* says the Turkish Commander-in-Chief is a huge, fat, unwieldy fellow, who cannot mount a horse, and was half his time in bed. When his troops were close on Alexinatz, he was twenty miles from the front. Lindsay says, also, that a third of the Servians in hospital when he arrived were self-mutilated to avoid serving. Kemball writes, in private letters, that both armies are badly led, and show no particular inclination for fighting. This accounts for the prolongation of the contest. The Turks are the worst fed, and will break down soon for want of funds.

I dined yesterday at the Athenæum with Lord Bury, Emly, Delane, and Drummond Wolff. Delane has just returned from Dunrobin, very Philo-Turk. He looks ill, but has no thought of retiring or even taking an additional holiday. I saw Forster on his way through. I don't think he has much news to tell. Lady Molesworth started for Paris on Tuesday last. I dine with Borthwick to-morrow.

Best regards to Lord Carlingford.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

The letter on 'Impediment' in the *Times* is mine.

It is curious that Bismarck has not yet spoken out, yet he holds the key of the position.

* Colonel Loyd-Lindsay, now Lord Wantage, during the Turco-Servian War was engaged on behalf of the British Red Cross Society, in relieving the sick and wounded soldiers.

Mr. W. E. Gladstone to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Castle Howard, York,

Oct. 10, 1876.

I was much interested in and obliged by your letter.

We have got into a pretty mess. The *Times* appears to be thoroughly emasculated. It does not pay to read a paper which next week is sure to refute what it has demonstrated this week. It ought to be prohibited to change sides more than a certain number of times in a year. As to the upper ten thousand, it has not been by the majority of that body that any of the great and good measures of our century have been carried, though a minority have done good service. And so, I fear, it will continue.

I am afraid that the Turk, put to choose between Forster's plan and mine, will be rather hard driven; indeed, I do not despair of being the favoured object.

We return to Hawarden to-morrow.

Very faithfully yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone.

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,

8, St. James's Street,

Oct. 11, 1876.

After reading the *Times* of to-day, you will be tempted to improve upon your proposal, and prohibit them from changing sides more than once in twenty-four hours. The first article is anti-Russian, and the second still more decidedly anti-Turk. The first, fortunately, is absurd on the face of it. Fancy our lying by till Russia has crossed the Danube in despite of Austria and Germany, and then fighting for the Bosphorus with a power that *ex vi termini* had conquered Germany and Austria!

On Sunday last I had a long conversation with Count

Schouvaloff. He told me that *the* "proposals"* were given up, and that England and Russia, contemporaneously though not consentaneously, had proposed an armistice of a month and a conference. His opinion then was that Turkey would not agree unless direct compulsion was employed. He admitted that the proposed occupation of Bulgaria by Russia must be given up in compliance with English susceptibilities; but he suggested that the combined fleets (or portions of each) should appear before Constantinople to enforce the joint proposal of the Powers for an armistice. Lord Derby objected that the Turks might fire a shot as a formal protest against the encroachment on the Dardanelles; to which Schouvaloff replied, that if so, it should be disregarded as the bark of a cur. However, Lord Derby opposed everything in the way of compulsion and proposed nothing. Schouvaloff told me that there was a complete *entente cordiale* between the Emperors of Russia and Austria.† But one of the strongest features of the situation is, that the popular voice or national will is bettering or impelling diplomacy and statesmanship in Russia, Austria, England and Turkey, and fortunately so, as concerns England. Whatever England is doing in the right direction is owing to the popular impulse, for which you are mainly responsible, and which will redound to your lasting honour.

The parallel between the Eastern question and the Italian question‡ is most remarkable in many points, but

* Of the Six Powers.

† This was doubted at the time.

‡ In 1851 Mr. Gladstone addressed 'Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen, on the subject of State Prisoners at Naples,' which was universally read, and made a most powerful impression. It will be remembered that after the Crimean War we temporarily withdrew our Ministers from Naples, as a remonstrance against the atrocities of the Neapolitan Government.

in none more than the circumstance that, in each instance, the purifying flame was lighted by you.

From a letter I had from him yesterday, I should infer that Forster was not very confident in his views; and I wrote to tell him that, although his speech was much admired and commended on the whole, earnest people were frequently tempted to exclaim, "Save, oh save me from a candid friend!" His reference to Ristics (whom he should not have named) requires explanation. How could Ristics have said that, when Servia declared war, she expected the Bulgarians to rise, the Bulgarians having been crushed seven weeks before? When Turkey breaks up (as break up she must), the best thing for England and mankind would be that independent Christian States should be established in her place. Why not lay the foundation of them at once? I believe it must and will be done, for a reformed Turkey is a contradiction in terms.* I suspect that the *Quarterly* article is concocting under the inspiration of Lord Salisbury. It will appear on the 19th. I am delighted with your illustration of the assignats. With best regards to Mrs. Gladstone,

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave.

8, St. James's Street,

MY DEAR LADY WALDEGRAVE, Oct. 20, 1876.

I am glad you and Lord Carlingford are satisfied with the article.† It was carefully considered, particu-

* M. Ristics did not realise how completely the Bulgarians had been crushed by Turkey. He owned afterwards to the "illusion" of his expectations. Mr. Forster agreed in this view; and the emancipation of the Christian States he desired to effect as peaceably as possible; but none the less completely.

† "Strawberry Hill." *Quarterly Review*, October 1876. Re-published in 'Eminent Statesmen and Writers,' vol. ii.

larly in the adjustment and due proportion of the parts.

The Government have got into a mess. When Lord Derby had got the Six Powers to agree on a given line, he should have stuck to it, instead of falling into the trap astutely laid for him by the Turks, when they proposed a five or six months' armistice. It is highly to Forster's credit that he detected the real meaning of this. It would complete the absurdity if, after our Government has given up the *six* weeks' armistice,* Russia should get it accepted by the Turks. Schouvaloff told me, some days since, that the *entente cordiale* between the Russian and Austrian Emperors was complete. Delane dined yesterday with Count Münster,† and may be assumed to speak to-day with some *connaissance de cause* as to Germany. The upshot is that England is completely insulated. I have seen a great deal of Delane lately. I am convinced that his vacillation is a good deal owing to his state of health. He told me yesterday that we might depend on his not changing again on the essential point of non-interference. I have had recently two letters from Gladstone, in one of which he says that he can see no essential difference between Forster and himself, as all they either of them want is that Turkish rule shall practically cease. On my showing this to Forster, he agreed. The abuse of Gladstone goes on as usual, particularly in the upper ten thousand. But all that the Government have been doing in the right direction is owing to the flame kindled by him, and he has strengthened their hands to do good,

* The Porte, in reply to the demand of the Six Powers for a month's or six weeks' armistice, proffered a six months' armistice, and promised to consider a scheme for the reform of the government of her provinces in the meanwhile. Russia rejected the Porte's offer.

† Ambassador of the German Empire at St. James's.

although for other purposes he may have paralysed them. The Russian difficulty is finance. She is already weakened by the undue extension of her empire, and a long time must elapse before she will be in a condition to grasp or hold Constantinople, even should Germany and Austria consent.

The political article in the *Quarterly* was inspired by Lord Salisbury and (I suspect) submitted to him and Lord Carnarvon.

Best regards to Lord Carlingford.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Mrs. Sheridan.

8, St. James's Street,

Nov. 3, 1876.

DEAR MRS. SHERIDAN,

I feel much obliged by your kind invitation, but I cannot leave town for some weeks, having things to do which require me to be here. I have not seen Mrs. Norton for some days. When I saw her last I fancied she was improving. I have dined frequently with Delane of late, and saw him yesterday. He is very much altered. I dined at the Austrian Embassy a few days since with the Russian, French, and Italian Ambassadors, and Lord Derby. Indeed all the great Powers were represented except Germany. Nesselrode, the Ludoffs, Madame de Bylandt, Novikoff and Bulow were also of it. The conversation was general and apparently frank. My impression, since confirmed, was that there are two points on which European diplomacy is agreed. 1. that the revolted provinces of Turkey are to be effectually protected against oppression. 2. That Russia is to gain nothing in the way of territory. To this Russia assents. It strikes me that our Government has lost influence, but not enough to shake it. It is the fashion of the upper

ten thousand to abuse Gladstone. He was abused exactly in the same manner for the pamphlet on Neapolitan atrocities, which did such excellent service in accelerating the independence of Italy.

Best regards to Mr. and Miss Sheridan, and believe me,

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Mrs. Grote.

8, St. James's Street,

Nov. 20, 1876.

MY DEAR FRIEND.

Lady Waldegrave will be glad to hear your anecdote of her father, no doubt ; and under ordinary circumstances the extract from the Journal would be interesting, but it so happens that in the same year, 1774, Walpole printed *A Description* of Strawberry Hill, comprising in minute detail everything mentioned by Mr. Bray (see the *Quarterly*, p. 337).

On Friday last Lord Salisbury* received a telegram from Bismarck, begging him to take Berlin on his way. The colloquy will be curious and decisive.

Civilised Europe (with which England is *compelled* to concur, despite our Premier) has come to the resolution, that Turkish misgovernment must be put down, *colte que colte*, and it will be vain for Turkey, even aided by England, to haggle about the mode. The disarmament cannot be carried out without foreign troops, and Russia, instead of pressing her own, will offer the option of supplying them to England, or any other power that will undertake the task. Russia and Gladstone have been the stock in trade for abuse of three-fourths of our press.

* Lord Salisbury left London on the 20th to attend the Conference at Constantinople, on Eastern affairs, as Her Majesty's Special Ambassador.

Yet whatever is done to reform (without breaking up) Turkey, will be owing to Russia and Gladstone. Without Russia there would have been no foreign intervention, without Gladstone (*i.e.* the public opinion incited by him) England would have encouraged Turkey to resist, and would have been bound to fight for her. War, in fact, would have been inevitable, for the Czar, propelled by his people, could not have held back. I intend at some future time to prove this in detail, and to prove, moreover, that our Government have blundered at every step, and done nothing in the right direction till they could not help it. This is clear from Lord Derby's own despatches.

I am now occupied on Baron Hübner's 'Promenade autour du Monde.'

Delane is greatly improved in health and the *Times* in consistency. Forster (whom I saw yesterday) is to make another political display at Aberdeen on the 25th, or 27th,* and I shall try to imbue him with some of my ideas. The notion of leaving London at this season makes me shudder; and I have declined Sheridan's for the 24th, and Lady Waldegrave's for December 8th. You had better come to town, and reserve the Ridgeway for the spring and summer.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Mrs. Grote.

8, St. James's Street,

Nov. 22, 1876.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

There is little or no difference in our views. Our only difference is as to facts, which would be set right in five minutes.

* Mr. W. E. Forster was installed Rector of Aberdeen University on the 24th.

1. You say that our (English) remonstrances reached long ago to threats. This is just where they stopped short. Sir H. Elliot was instructed to press for an armistice of a month or six weeks, accompanied by proposals *involving foreign interference*. He was to leave Turkey to ruin, &c., if this was refused. Had he carried out these instructions, we should be where Russia is now. But he unluckily closed with the Turkish proposal of a six months' armistice, the effect of which was that the Turks were to be let down, and *evade foreign interference* for that period.* The blunder was seen, but too late. Russia then took up our position, and delivered her ultimatum, which brought things to a point. The consequence was a matter of course, for which no merit can be claimed.

2. Plans for the defence of Constantinople were drawn up by Sir John Burgoyne in 1854. There are no other plans; nor has there been the semblance of war preparation here.

3. I do not think that — ever intentionally kept back information of any sort. The story of the late Sultan's intention to call for Russian aid, and a Russian corps about to start for the Bosphorus (*Edin. Rev.*, pp. 563, 564) is commonly regarded as a *canard*.

The conversation of the Emperor with Loftus (reported in the *Times*) will satisfy all reasonable people.† But what can Lord Derby mean by naming as the first *object* of the conference: "The independence and territorial

* Sir Henry Elliot having agreed on behalf of England to a six months' armistice, which Russia rejected, General Ignatieff, the Russian Ambassador, demanded an armistice of eight weeks, which was granted on the 1st of November.

† In the course of an interview with Lord A. Loftus, Her Majesty's Minister at St. Petersburg, the Czar pledged his sacred word of honour that he had no intention of acquiring Constantinople, and if compelled to occupy Bulgaria should do so only provisionally.

integrity of the Ottoman Empire"? The same inconsistency pervades the *résumé* (as you call it) of the *E. R.*, which I think sad twaddle.

But I agree with you that it takes too much time to discuss such questions on paper: and you ought to come to town.

Ever yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave.

8, St. James's Street,
Nov. 22, 1876.
DEAR LADY WALDEGRAVE,

I shall be most happy to come to you on the 8th of January, but I cannot leave London during the middle of next month, indeed not at all before Christmas, as at present advised; and I have just refused an invitation to Frampton.

I am just setting to work on Hübner (thanks for your note about him), but it is no light task, as I must read up China, Japan, &c., to see what he has added to the current state of information, and what has happened since he wrote. My so-called light articles require an immense deal of heavy reading. I have sent the *Catalogue* and *The Description* of Strawberry Hill to Carlton Gardens.

It now appears that when Disraeli made his alarmist speech at the Guildhall he was well aware of the Czar's declaration to Lord A. Loftus some days before.* But people will say: "Just like Dizzy," as they said "Just like Roger."

* In his speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet, on November 9. Lord A. Loftus had on the 2nd telegraphed home the purport of the Czar's conversation with him. It was in consequence of Lord Beaconsfield's speech that the Czar requested his conversation to be made public.

There was no scruple about publishing Imperial conversation when the "Sick man's" conversation with Sir H. Seymour was given to the world.* Now, when the conversation tells the other way, and may serve to soothe the anti-Russian alarmists, it is suppressed till the Emperor requests that it may be made known!

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Miss Hayward.

8, St. James's Street,

MY DEAREST FANNY,

Dec. 6, 1876.

I dined yesterday at the Athenæum with the Russian and Austrian Ambassadors, who did not talk as if their countries were likely to disagree. I hardly see how a war between Russia and Turkey is to be avoided, but there is no chance of our engaging in it.

Ever yours,
A. H.

Mr. John Bright to Mr. Hayward.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

Rochdale, Dec. 7, 1876.

I was not able to enter into the Khiva question—for I was overloaded with matter—and did not purpose to attempt to defend Russia against the charges made against her.† Could you not write a *careful* letter to the *Times*, giving such explanation and defence as the case admits of? It would be copied and do much good. All the Government followers ever now do is to assail Russia and Mr. Gladstone—they have little to urge in favour of their leader.

* Previous to the Crimean War, when the Czar suggested an understanding between England and Russia as to the division of Turkey.

† Of advancing upon our Indian frontier.

At Birmingham* I have trotted out the "hobgoblin," and have handled him, and have pulled him in pieces before the multitude.

The Press is surprised and somewhat startled, and so, I suppose, will be our "Statesmen"—a class including only those who believe in old traditions, and who do not like to see them wholly worn out.

The "Conference"† to-morrow will be a meeting of great interest, and its result will probably depend on what our friend from Hawarden says and does. I hope he may not fail of his part and duty. I am not going to the Conference—thinking Birmingham was enough for me, and knowing both as regards the past and the present and what I hope for the future, I might differ from many who may be there.

I thank you for your interesting note and memorandum, and am,

Always sincerely yours,
JOHN BRIGHT.

* Mr. Bright's speech at Birmingham on the 4th.

† On the 8th of December a National Conference on the Eastern Question was held in St. James's Hall. The Duke of Westminster and Lord Shaftesbury presided, and Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Evelyn Ashley and Mr. Freeman were among the speakers.

CHAPTER VII.

1877-1884.

Last seven years of Mr. Hayward's life—Death of Lady Waldegrave's brother—Miss Martineau and the Wordsworths—Mr. S. H. Walpole on Lord Cochrane's conviction in 1814—Mrs. Grote on the review of Miss Martineau's 'Autobiography.' Lady Waldegrave—Reminiscences of Sir Robert Peel's intended duel with Mr. Disraeli—Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and the Turks—Mrs. Cornwallis-West, 'Verses of Other Days'—Mrs. Grote and Mr. Hayward's review of Mr. Lecky's 'England in the 18th Century'—H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge and the Patronage of the Army—Mrs. Grote on Madame du Deffand—Death of Mrs. Grote—Early reminiscences of the Kembles—"Mr. Hayward at Home"—Letter to Dr. Wm. Smith on the 'English Monarchy.' The Countess Xavier de Florian—Russia and Constantinople, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's "Epigram"—Death of Lady Waldegrave—Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's recollections of Lord Wellesley—Fall of Mr. Disraeli's Government—Mr. Hayward on Mrs. Grote—Return to power of Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Hayward and Mrs. A. Procter on Mr. Carlyle. Mrs. Langtry's *début*—Madame de Novikoff and the Jewish agitation in Poland—State of Ireland—The Duc d'Aumale, Mr. Hayward's last visit to Chantilly—Death of Mr. Hayward.

THIS chapter contains the correspondence of the last seven years of Mr. Hayward's life, or so much of which at this early date it is possible to make public. It is sufficient to portray him with the same interests as he had formerly, and to trace his career up to his last illness.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave.

8, St. James's Street,
MY DEAR LADY WALDEGRAVE, Feb. 28, 1877.

Your brother's * death would have caused me deep regret on your account, had I regarded him only as an agreeable acquaintance. But I had formed a high estimate of his qualities of head and heart. His fine and varied humour, in particular, was the result or product of observation and reflection. I have had many serious conversations with him, and I know few men whose advice or opinion I should have more prized on matters of conduct or right feeling in society.

I very much fear that the only source of consolation in such an affliction is the one expressed by Wallenstein :

“ I shall grieve down this blow, of that I'm conscious.
What would not man grieve down ? ”

With the deepest sympathy,
Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mrs. A. Procter to Mr. Hayward.

Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.,
MY DEAR MR. HAYWARD, April 2, 1877.

I thank you very sincerely for your kind note. It will be very kind of you if you can speak of my book. † It certainly presents a great contrast to Miss Martineau's. She is the Greville of humble life.

Two assertions she makes I know to be false—Wordsworth's saying that if his visitors wanted meat, he told them they must pay for it. I have spent a week

* Ward Braham, major in the Berkshire Militia.

† The life of her husband, Mr. Bryan Waller Procter (“Barry Cornwall”).

under his roof with my father and mother, and we were most hospitably received. He was so old a friend—and my father knew his affairs so well—that there could have been no difficulty in saying, Don't come, we cannot afford to have you. Miss M. also asserts that my stepfather, Basil Montagu, agreed with her in her entire disbelief in everything—but adds, he kept this a secret for fear of annoying "*his good lady.*" Whatever his faults were, he was not a hypocrite, and he was incapable of keeping any secret from my mother, or from his children. His letters, his conversations, were filled with quotations from the old divines—J. Taylor, Hooker, Milton, Dr. T. Brown.

I have to ask your forgiveness for taking up so much of your time.

Yours very gratefully,

ANNE B. PROCTER.

In 1814, Lord Cochrane, afterwards Earl of Dundonald, was sentenced to expulsion from the Navy, with a year's imprisonment, and was also expelled the House of Commons, on the charge of fraudulently influencing the Stock Exchange, by propagating a rumour of Napoleon's downfall.

At a later period he was found to have been unfairly convicted, and was restored to his rank and privileges.

In 1877, his grandson presented a petition to the House of Commons praying for settlement of the arrears of pay that had accumulated during Lord Dundonald's forced retirement from the service. A Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the circumstances, and recommended that the petition should be granted, and steps taken to vindicate the great admiral's character. The matter is referred to by Mr. Walpole in the following letter.

Mr. S. H. Walpole to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

109, Eaton Square,
April 13, 1877.

I should always be sorry to find myself differing from you. But whether I look at the proceedings at law, or whether I look at the discussion in the House of Commons in 1814, I cannot but feel, that the severity of the punishment was not the only cause which roused the reaction in Lord Cochrane's favour, and the general indignation at the treatment he received; but that it was the political feeling which lurked at the bottom of the whole proceedings; that, on that account, everything was unduly pressed against him; and that this unfairness (for I must call it so) culminated in the refusal to grant a new trial, on the technical ground, that it could not be granted in the absence of those with whom his complicity was charged. This I said, and still say, was a "grievous," not a "gross" wrong, as you put it.

I gave no opinion of my own about his guilt or innocence as a party to the conspiracy, because I considered that, for the purposes of Sir R. Anstruther's motion, that point was virtually conceded by his restoration to his naval rank; and that the only question before the House was whether the partial reparation which had been already made should not be rendered quite complete.

Perhaps you will ask me this:—What is your opinion of his guilt or innocence? I will tell you frankly. I think, if a new trial had been granted, no jury would have found that he was a party to the fraud practised on the Stock Exchange, and that his supposed complicity was chiefly an inference from the fact that his uncle, Sir Cochrane Johnstone, who had fled the country, was unquestionably guilty. That was just one of those facts which would have been cleared up on a new trial. And

hence the denial of a new trial was the main cause of all the mischief which subsequently ensued.

You now know exactly what I think ; and I will only add, since, even in your mind, there seems to be some misapprehension on the subject, that the Committee is appointed to certify facts, not to re-try the case. The motion for a Committee was simply a form for bringing the facts before the House, as no application could be made for a pecuniary grant without the previous consent of the Crown. Northcote himself originally suggested that form, and it was only on the eve of the motion coming on that we knew that he objected to it.

I have headed this note Private and Confidential, because I do not think it would be quite right to make public use of it while questions may arise in the House of Commons about the future course of procedure. One thing, however, you may be quite sure of : that I do not intend to be any party either to a re-trial of the case in any shape, or to an interference with the prerogative of the Crown in determining what they may think it right to recommend.

Believe me, ever,
Yours sincerely,
S. H. WALPOLE.

Mrs. Grote to Mr. Hayward.

Ridgeway, April 17, 1877.

I must send you my first impressions, having received the *Q. R.** this morning. I plunged into the Harriet Martineau with avidity, and seldom have I enjoyed a more satisfactory mental repast. I. The dexterity of the reduction of the prolix original to its just size, pre-

* "Harriet Martineau's Autobiography." *Quarterly Review*, April 1877.

1. serving a faithful resemblance. 2. The fairness with which the quality of her literary faculty is set forth. 3. The indulgent tone of the reviewer in dealing with H. M.'s conceit and arrogant self-esteem. 4. The judicious "set-off" here and there, as corrective of her random judgments. 5. The general intellectual appreciation of her writings, the favouring accidents of the period, and the *illustrations*, felicitous. 6. Her fluctuating mind as to religious views, according to the bodily condition. These impressions, and as many more, surge up within me as I close the book, for the moment. We shall have to *talk* it out, presently. The *character* is in every way provocative of criticism and analysis, and you have revealed both powers in dissecting this odd creature. Curious, that not even her French blood was a match for the *dissenter* incapacity to twist in a joke! I talked with Lady Stanley, when she was here, about Harriet Martineau, whom she knew in 1833, *et seq.*, far more closely than *we* ever did. She said H. M. never *was* half so much run after as is pretended. It was Brougham, and the Diffusion Society, and the Economists of that day, who puffed her into notoriety. Her estimate of individuals is obviously dictated by their flattering attentions to herself. Anything more untrue than her estimate of Lord Durham there could hardly be. You have given Milnes a friendly lift, which no one will begrudge him. I think you lead a pleasant life of it, Sir, as times go. I keep tolerably well,

Ever yours,
H. GROTE.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave.

Athenæum Club,
Wednesday Night,

MY DEAR LADY WALDEGRAVE, Nov. 22, 1877.

I send you a copy of the lines* *miscopied* by Sir C.R., to complete the Dudbrook poets so far as I am concerned. I wish I was equal to celebrating in verse the Queen of Hostesses, as well as the Queen of the Ball who stands by "general acclaim" at the top,—warm, kind, handsome, cordial, sympathetic—in fact, everything! I know I am very often fretful, positive, contradictory; but I think I have a fine perception of what is really good in its line, and I thoroughly appreciate my friends.

That charming creature sang half the way up, and I am proud of myself for being a little *tête montée* about her. Do you remember the scene in 'L'Homme Blasé' where he is delighted to feel his pulse rising?

Tell your fair *aide de camp*† that I have not forgotten her, or my obligations to her.

Ever most sincerely yours,
A. HAYWARD.

* These lines, addressed to Mrs. Cornwallis-West, are contained in Mr. Hayward's 'Verses of Other Days,' reprinted for private circulation in 1878. They begin:—

"Yes, triumph securely, scarce one could come near thee,
Thou'rt Queen of the Ball by the gen'ral acclaim."

Mr. Hayward refers to Lady Waldegrave as the Queen of Hostesses; he has elsewhere spoken of her as "A woman whose true value, admired and esteemed as she was in her lifetime, was not fully felt and recognised till she died. It would be difficult to name a death which has caused so lively and general a sensation of regret, which has created a blank in so many circles, which so frequently elicits the reflection that somebody or something would be different and better had she lived."—Note to 'Strawberry Hill.'

† Miss Constance Braham, now Mrs. Strachey.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Carlington.

[EXTRACT.]

8, St. James's Street,
 MY DEAR CARLINGTON, } Dec. 6, 1877.

I had some talk with Lord Hartington the day before yesterday. He said his remarks on the Establishment* had been made too much of, and on my saying that the Tories were making capital of it, he said he was not so much afraid of *that* as of the Liberals being disappointed where he fell short, as he should do, of their expectation.

Forster, also, seems disposed to resist any move against the Church at present.

Ever faithfully yours,
 A. HAYWARD.

In his essay on 'The British Parliament: its History and Influence,' Mr. Hayward has written the following passage:—"It has always seemed unaccountable to us that Peel, who had joined battle, without losing heart or ground, with such antagonists as Brougham, Canning, Stanley, and Lord Russell, should have quailed before Mr. Disraeli; or, if quailed be too strong a term, should have allowed himself to be so ruffled and annoyed. *Contempsi Catilinæ gladios: non pertimescam tuos.* He was so irritated on the night of the third reading of the Corn-Law Bill, that he came after the debate to Lord Lincoln (the late Duke of Newcastle) at Whitehall Place, and insisted on his carrying a hostile message to

* On the 6th of November Lord Hartington, in an address to the Liberals of Edinburgh, had touched upon the question of Disestablishment in Scotland. While deprecating agitation on the subject, Lord Hartington was prepared to let the question be fairly discussed.

Mr. Disraeli. On Lord Lincoln's positive refusal, Sir Robert was going off in search of another second, and was with difficulty driven from his purpose by the threat of an application to a magistrate." *

About the date of the next letter, Professor Goldwin Smith challenged the accuracy of Mr. Hayward's statement, asserting that it was not Mr. Disraeli but Lord George Bentinck whom Sir Robert Peel desired to call out. Mr. Hayward adhered to his original conviction, quoting the Duke of Newcastle's explicit words as his authority. He asked the opinion of the late Lord Cardwell, who, conjointly with Lord Stanhope, had the care of Peel's papers, and whose intimacy with Sir Robert and the Duke makes the reply to Mr. Hayward interesting, although failing to confirm the accuracy of the latter's statement.

Lord Cardwell to Mr. Hayward.

Ribsdon, Bagshot, Surrey,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Dec. 6, 1877.

Everything connected with Peel's personal history is of interest, and it is right that if this story is told at all, it should be told authentically.

I can only say that my recollection is the same with Goldwin Smith's. When he told me the story, I repeated it to Newcastle, who promised to give it me in writing, which unfortunately he never did.

If I am in any way to blame, as having been more or less a party to your version, which attributes to Peel the desire to challenge Disraeli, I can only regret it. I am not able to make any admission on that point, for I do

* 'Biographical and Critical Essays.' Third Series, pp. 73-74. (Longmans, 1874.)

not know how far I am guilty of any oversight in the matter. But of my own impression I am sure, which is what Goldwin Smith told me, and what Newcastle confirmed : that he wished to challenge Lord G. Bentinck.

I have not the smallest idea that Goldwin Smith intends to create any difference with you, and I see nothing in the letter to the *Spectator* which has any such appearance. He only wishes to establish, I think, his own version of the story as he remembers it.

Yours very truly,

CARDWELL.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave.

8, St. James's Street,
MY DEAR LADY WALDEGRAVE, Dec. 12, 1877.

I have just got a letter from Chenery, the new editor.* I take to him very much. I dined with Delane in Serjeants' Inn. He does not talk of moving. His articulation is thick, and I can see that his brothers think badly of him. Hutton† writes, that he has letters about the Peel and Disraeli business which render it impossible for me to keep back. I am just beginning my article on Lord Melbourne, having got the sheets. The book will not be published till the 20th. I shall get my verses ready for the New Year. I am going to Tunbridge for the Christmas week.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

I reopen this letter to say that Chenery has called, and we had a long talk. I think he will make the *Times* all it should be.

* Of the *Times*.

† Editor of the *Spectator*. Mr. Hayward wrote a letter to the *Spectator*, traversing Mr. Goldwin Smith's statement and still adhering to his own.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave.

[EXTRACT.]

Tunbridge Wells,

MY DEAR LADY WALDEGRAVE,

Dec. 27, 1877.

I sate an hour with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe yesterday.* His mind is as fresh as ever. He thinks the Government have made a mess of the Eastern question every way. He says they might have prevented the war † by acting cordially with the other Powers. He told me he had hopes of the Turks twenty years ago, none whatever now.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Sir Wm. Stirling-Maxwell.

Athenæum Club,

MY DEAR STIRLING, ‡

Friday, 1877.

I quite agree in your remarks. They count all *for* that are not *against*, and a sceptic is generally one who has really considered the subject, whilst nine out of ten of the nominal believers have not. I should be inclined to rank a learned Jew, like Spinoza, as a higher authority than any Anglican divine. Indeed, the learned Jews, of whom there has been an uninterrupted succession, are better qualified by their knowledge of the language, the traditions, and the localities, than (*cæteris paribus*) any other theologians, and they are no more disqualified by having inherited their unbelief than Christians by having inherited their faith.

Ever truly yours,

A. HAYWARD.

* At Frant Court, his house near Tunbridge Wells.

† On the 24th of April, 1877, Russia had declared war against Turkey. The British Government had proclaimed their neutrality and disapproval of the war. Plevna had fallen, and Servia rebelled again, by the date of the above letter.

‡ Mr. Hayward's last letter. Sir William died on the 15th of January, 1878.

The next letter from Mr. Hayward is to Mrs. Cornwallis-West,* the effect of whose charming beauty upon him recalls a passage in one of his 'Essays,' in which he discusses with Fénelon "the proposal to have back their youth, with its wild freshness and its buoyancy."

Mr. Hayward to Mrs. Cornwallis-West.

8, St. James's Street,

Jan. 10, 1878.

MY DEAR ERIN—MRS. WEST, I mean.

Did "the loveliest woman in Europe" ever play at "Blindman's Buff"? If so, I enclose an impromptu in point. The idea is borrowed from one addressed to Madame de Sévigné. My anxiety about you has been somewhat mitigated by hearing from May † that your illness and loss of voice were owing to a bad cold, which, though a very bad thing, is temporary. No letter, no photograph! But the thought of the waistcoat silences complaint. The *Quarterly* is to be published on Saturday, and the contributors' copies will be ready on Friday. I have directed one of mine to be sent to Mr. West. He will like to see Lord Acton's article on May's book, and haply mine on Lord Melbourne.‡ I think the Lord Byron and Lady Caroline Lamb episode will amuse *you*.

* Mrs. Cornwallis-West is the wife of Mr. Cornwallis-West, M.P., of Ruthin Castle, Denbighshire, and the daughter of the Rev. F. and Lady Olivia Fitzpatrick, of County Leitrim; hence the allusion to "Erin."

† The late Sir Thomas Erskine May.

‡ The January *Quarterly* contained, as well as Lord Acton's article on Sir T. E. May's "Democracy in Europe," one from Mr. Hayward on Mr. Torrens's 'Life of Lord Melbourne,' re-published in 'Eminent Statesmen and Writers.' Vol. i. (Murray, 1880.)

TO A LADY PLAYING BLINDMAN'S BUFF.

(After the French.)

You have only to look or to move,
 To charm in one way or the other.
 When blinded, you're taken for Love,
 When the bandage is off, for his mother.

Ever faithfully yours,
 A. HAYWARD.

Mrs. Grote to Mr. Hayward.

[EXTRACT.]

DEAR FRIEND,

Ridgeway, Jan. 23, 1878.

I have read and re-read the collected verses.* They are well entitled to take rank among the most pleasing of their class. It is matter for complacency, that the latest effusions nowise fall below the standard of the earlier ones. Some of the "pieces" are turned with a refined point, after the manner of T. Moore; for instance, 'The gift of the waist-belt.'

Ever yours,
 H. GROTE.

Mr. Hayward to Miss Hayward.

MY DEAREST SISTER,

Jan. 26, 1878.

It is considered now that peace is sure, and the Government are cutting a most ridiculous figure, having alarmed the country about nothing.† I dined with a

* 'Verses of Other Days,' by A. Hayward. Republished for private circulation amongst friends in 1878.

† In view of a Russian march upon Constantinople, after the capture on the 10th of the Shipka Pass, the British fleet was ordered to Constantinople, and then countermanded. On the 28th, terms of peace between Russia and Turkey were communicated to Count Schouvaloff, and announced in the House of Commons.

large party of distinguished people at Lady Waldegrave's yesterday, and I dine quietly with Gladstone to-day. It is still uncertain whether Lord Derby is going out. I have notes from half the fine ladies, and all the prettiest women, about my verses.

Ever yours,
A. H.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave.

DEAR LADY WALDEGRAVE,

Jan. 27, 1878.

Lord Hartington * cannot produce a policy that shall unite the Liberal party. Nor can it reasonably be expected of him ; the thing just at present is not upon the cards. I calculate more on the Government getting gradually discredited than on the Liberal party rising.

What destroyed Gladstone's Government was its own unpopularity, not any preference for Conservatism. The inevitable increase of taxation will tell before another year, and people cannot fail to find out that the foreign policy is a dead failure.

Harcourt's speech has produced a much greater effect than is generally supposed, especially what he said about Cyprus and the Turkish convention.

Local circumstances (like Lord Hastings's change of sides in Norfolk) have so much to do with elections that it is difficult to draw conclusions from insulated cases. But I think another year must pass away before "Jingoism" receives its death-blow. County constituencies are very difficult to reach by public opinion at all times.

I dine to-day with the Bylandts, † to meet Count Karolyi.

* Lord Hartington had been chosen leader of the Liberal party upon Mr. Gladstone's voluntary withdrawal in January 1873.

† Count Bylandt was the Netherlands, and Count Karolyi the Austrian, Ambassador at St. James's.

I had not seen the *Academy* till you mentioned it. The writer goes on the usual notion, that clear waters must be shallow, and muddy deep. How, without going to the bottom of a character, is it possible to paint it correctly at all? The bottom is the truth. Simple idiomatic readable paragraphs are those that require most time, and one can't write easily on any subject that one does not know *au fond*.

The diamond and pearl simile was my own. I was merely doubtful whether it was you or Mrs. Grote who remarked it at the time.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mrs. Grote to Mr. Hayward.

[EXTRACT.]

The Ridgeway, Shiere, Guildford,
Good Friday, 1878.

I have read your article on Lecky;* it is full of valuable commentary, mostly on a repulsive text. But, as to any clear conception of the course which social forces were taking throughout that century, I am more bothered than I have always been—I mean, as to how political power was distributed; between the Sovereign, the aristocracy, the M. P.'s, the First Lord of the Treasury, the magistracy, the clergy, the squireens, the constable, the justice of peace, the exciseman, and all the rest. It was a deplorable jumble, and one only wonders how we managed to get along as we did under so imperfect a social organisation. I ought to have written out my story, of my cousin being robbed in Park Lane by two footpads, somewhere about the year 1775 or so. I had it from his own lips in 1817; it would have fitted in with

* 'History of England in the 18th Century,' vols. i. and ii. *Q.R.*, April 1878.

your "tableau" well. The article will be generally read ; but, Lord ! how it discredits boastful England ! You might have quoted my observations, on the necessity of poverty to the production of intellectual gems, in review of T. Moore's life. Nothing is more true. Though, as George Grote said, no one ought to attempt a *serious* work, historical or philosophic, who is *not independent* in his fortunes.

Ever yours,
H. GROTE.

Gen. Lord Airey to Mr. Hayward.

7 Lowndes Square, S.W.,
MY DEAR HAYWARD, May 9, 1878.

I have thought you might like to have an expression from the Duke of Cambridge, regarding the manner in which you alluded to the Patronage of the English Army, now, so I wrote to him, and send you his reply.

Believe me,
Always truly yours,
AIREY.

H. R. H. The Duke of Cambridge to Gen. Lord Airey.

Gloucester House, Park Lane, W.,
MY DEAR AIREY, May 9, 1878.

My attention had already been drawn to Mr. Hayward's remarks on myself in the *Quarterly*. Nothing can be more complimentary, and I fully appreciate the remarks thus handsomely made, and I hope you will let Mr. Hayward know this as coming from myself.

I remain,
Yours most sincerely,
GEORGE.

Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Clumber, June 6, 1878.

Many thanks for your most kind note. You will hardly be surprised when I say I had made up my mind, in case Mr. Hanbury's motion comes on, to quote Chatham's words which you quote. I read a friendly article to-day anticipating the oration I was to make in reply to him. My intention is to do no such thing—to decline to recognise it as a personal charge, or go upon my defence—but to note him as an assailant of the liberty of discussion, and leave the matter with the House.

It is a good while since I have seen you, and I wanted to speak about one or two matters: first of all, to thank you for your delightful volume on Goethe,* an admirable specimen of combined information and criticism without the waste of a word.

Can you dine with me on the 15th, breakfast on the 13th, or both?

After much breach of faith to Macmillan, I have forced myself (in the Easter holidays) to finish a Primer on Homer, which I will send you. I fear it will not well bear comparison with your late performance.

I am here till Saturday—on that evening to Hawarden—Wednesday, back to London.

I left Argyll in such a frame and mood as his best friends could desire.

Yours sincerely,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

* Mr. Hayward contributed the volume on Goethe to Oliphant's series of 'Foreign Classics for English Readers.' (Blackwood, 1878.)

Mrs. Grote to Mr. Hayward.

[EXTRACT.]

The Ridgeway, Shiere, Guildford,

MY DEAR FRIEND,

July 20, 1878.

I have gone over the article on Madame du Deffand* attentively. It is a spirited sketch of the period, with illustrative extracts from contemporary sources; always welcome, even to an experienced student of French memoirs like myself. But I confess that the "tableau" is simply disagreeable. The leading figures are, each, unpleasing:—Walpole, with his unbounded vanity and egotism; Madame du Deffand, wanting in the features which are indispensable to the character of an interesting woman. According to the two several aspects in which she is depicted in your paper, she was heartless, vain, dissipated, craving for excitement, and ungrateful to those who supplied her with the means of evading "ennui;" on the other side, we learn that she was comely, engaging, witty, capable of inspiring strong attachments, and the like. Such a fitful whirligig is really unworthy of historic interest, and I prefer many other French women of the eighteenth century to this, the bosom friend of Madame de Prie, and of every one else who could provide her any "distraction." The picture is cleverly fitted in, however, and will be relished by many of your admirers. Some of the "reflections" attest the capacity we all recognise in the writer, for depth of view and healthy sentiment.

I hope *you* are enjoying yourself, among your favourites, whether at Strawberry Hill or elsewhere. You manage to get more out of life than many of your younger associ-

* "Madame du Deffand and her Correspondents." *Quarterly Review*, July 1878. 'Eminent Statesmen and Writers,' vol. ii. (Murray, 1880.)

ates. Long may it be granted to you to do so, is the prayer of your old correspondent,

H. GROTE.

*Mrs. Grote to Mr. Hayward.**

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Ridgeway, Sept. 1, 1878.

I have not been capable of writing, or you would have heard from me long since. I passed five weeks here (as I think I told you before), and then struggled up to Savile Row, on Aug. 19, where I spent one week. Thunderstorms kept me a close prisoner almost all the week I was in town. There was hardly a creature to speak to: only Jodrell, daily, Lacaita and C. Newton. I could not get to Holland House (for storms), and I should not have seen Lady Holland at all, if she had not come to see *me* for a good "chat"—dear woman! On Monday, 26th, London was positively pestiferous, a murky stinking air pervaded even Hyde Park. Since I got back to the Ridgeway storms have again been our portion, and I have suffered under great nervous prostration in consequence, with heart palpitation.

It was gratifying to me to see how justly your Goethe† was noticed by the critic of the *Times* in Saturday's paper, Aug. 31. He seized your point of view, and points out its value—the absorbing element of the artist nature bent upon "producing effect" by any and every device within its reach. The total nakedness of the "morale" in Goethe never came out so forcibly as in your dissection of the man; whilst by no writer has his greatness been more reverently acknowledged, on the theatre of his creations. It seems to me daily more and more clear, that moral qualities are not required in an artist of eminent gifts, and accordingly, it is of little use laying

* This is the last letter Mr. Hayward received from Mrs. Grote.

† "Goethe," by A. Hayward. (Blackwood & Sons, 1878.)

bare their daily habits and *rappports*. Great artists must be, for the most part, the reverse of virtuous—*voilà!*

Methinks you lay out your vacation skilfully. A touch of gossipy, amusing, mixed society of the better class, for a fortnight, with as much leisure as you need, for work, is a sure receipt for cheerful spirits. A week in Somersetshire will be a variety, and your family ties come as a gentle form of idleness. I hope we may meet, and talk, before you quite close your paper on Thiers.* It is a great task, certes, supposing one is obliged to treat the subject honestly. I spent a good hour yesterday searching for a letter which, I am sure, would be valuable to you. It is from Tocqueville, bantering me for being captivated by Thiers' powers of conversation, in 1852, when he was as he (T.) called himself, *un pauvre exil*, and reproving me in his skilful manner; setting forth the mischief Thiers had wrought in the course of national politics, his incorrigible ambition, and the like. I am certain the letter exists, but for the life of me I cannot lay my hands upon it, and I fear that your article will have been completed before I can rummage the few corners of my *London* drawers where it *may* be hidden, but I will have another "search" yet, *here*. You must know all this letter is written as I lie on my back, so that the scrawl does not mean that I have become paralytic, yet.

Good-bye! Always yours sincerely,
H. GROTE.

Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Hawarden, Sept. 19, 1878.

I thank you for your kind note. That principle of iteration which you recommend I have now been acting

* *Quarterly Review* art., 1878. Reprinted in 'Eminent Statesmen and Writers,' vol. i.

on pretty doggedly for over two years. It has been an odd employment, growing out of an odd position, which again has grown out of circumstances as unexampled as any, I believe, in our history. I know nothing in it which, in the least degree, resembles the wild, erratic, as well as degrading policy of the years which have last past.

I wish I could entirely share your satisfaction with the writing of the *Daily News*; but I think they have often made improper admissions, and do not drive the nail home as it ought to be done by a really vigorous Opposition paper, such as the *Morning Chronicle* of Perry.

I am glad you are to write on Thiers. How odd all this Notre Daming is.* He said, long ago, *Je ne suis pas Catholique, mais je suis Papiste*—i.e., for the Temporal Power. However, years brought him wisdom in various respects. Was he, perhaps, right in 1840?

We expect Arthur Gordon next week—on 24th or 25th; perhaps Miss Irby. We should be very happy if you would come.

The *Times* seems to have taken a turn towards fury, an amusing variation. There have been few duller newspapers for the last three years, and they seem to wish to rival Delane in his decay.

Remember us to your kind hosts, and believe me,

Sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Duke of Bedford, who has been here to-day, says he found Renan, and other men of letters in France, full of disposition to throw dirt upon democracy.

* *Vide* "Thiers." 'Eminent Statesmen,' vol. i. p. 53.

Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Hawarden, Nov. 17, 1878.

I have the Rhodope Report, so called, but more irregularly sent in, in the shape of a Parliamentary Paper, Turkey, No. 44, 1878.

I have no doubt that the evidence contains masses of falsehood. But it has been adopted to a certain extent, according to the official paper, by a majority of the Commission. The Powers thus made responsible ought to consider their duty in regard to it.

Fawcett in one of the protocols states that, after the Bulgarian rebellion of 1878, the Russians hung a number of Turks on Bulgarian testimony. This I believe to be untrue. I wrote to the Foreign Office, and asked for the evidence in support of this. They answered, they would send a *copy of my letter to Fawcett by the next messenger*. I wrote back, and said I thought the telegraph might have been employed. This is not secret.

As far as I understand, the Russians have horribly mismanaged the matter. 1. I do not see that they were justified in trying to shut out the inquiry. 2. Why did they not sift the evidence and expose the falsehoods?

I hear from Lord Bath that Mac Coll will prove that the Italian Commissioner speedily and finally withdrew his signature. This leaves only the report of a minority, and makes the matter more confused than ever.

I come up about 27th, to speak at Greenwich 30th.

Yours sincerely,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave.

8, St. James's Street,
Jan. 20, 1879.

DEAR LADY WALDEGRAVE,

I am glad you like my "Bismarck." * The "trot for the avenue" is an apt expression for the wind-up. Now that Mrs. Grote is gone, I have hardly any friendly and discriminating critic but you to hit off my best passages. Was it you, or she, who fixed upon the sentence in the 'Melbourne' article, saying of Lord Byron and Lady C. Lamb, "They were rivals as well as lovers; it was diamond cut diamond, instead of diamond outshining pearl, and pearl content to be outshone" ?—which I think hits off the exact relation that ought to exist between two clever people if the love is to last. Lady Blanche Hozier is playing the part. I dined with her yesterday, and she was eloquent on your goodness, kindness, and generosity, to which I need hardly add I said *ditto*. I hope Cornwallis-West will bring his wife back in full beauty, for she is a luminous point in the social horizon, and a lovely creature *at times*. I am not at all ashamed of having been so much fascinated, though I wonder at it; for I am convinced that we are enslaved by women exactly in proportion to the quantity of feeling and imagination which we possess. Mrs. Kennard told me yesterday that she dined on Saturday at the Russian Embassy with Mrs. Langtry, who returned that same evening from the Dudleys with Schouvaloff: a very small party made (I fancy) for Mrs. Langtry. Count Piper † reports that the King and Queen of Sweden have been reading my 'Goethe,' and are speaking very highly of it.

Last week I had a letter from a Congregational

* "Prince Bismarck." *Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1879. 'Eminent Statesmen and Writers,' vol. i.

† Swedish Minister at St. James's.

minister, named ——, dated Bromsgrove, saying he was too poor to buy books, that he had heard much of my 'Essays,' was anxious to read them, and humbly begged me to send him a *soiled* copy. Of course I sent him a new one, *from the Author*, and such a letter of gratitude ! Which is the more gratifying—the royal praise, or the poor dissenter's interest ? I quite agree with you, that Fanny Kemble's 'Girlhood' is a most interesting book. Part of it appeared as 'Gossip of an Old Woman,' in the *Atlantic Monthly* two or three years since, and was mentioned by me in the *Quarterly* in the article on Ticknor.* I was a good deal mixed up with the Kembles, having been a private pupil (from 8 to 10) of the Twisses. Mrs. Twiss, Horace's mother, was Mrs. Siddons's sister, and very like her. Mrs. Twiss had the care of three young ladies, Miss Searle, H. Twiss's first wife, being one. She was seventeen when we were (so to speak) schoolfellows ; and Fanny Kemble's description of her, as very small, &c., is by no means accurate. Again, the scene at Mrs. Norton's with Theodore Hook is accurately given by Lord Albemarle (who was one of the party), and has often been described to me by Mrs. Norton. Fanny Kemble's account is altogether wrong. I never took much to Fanny ; but she had a wonderful success after her coming out—greater than you would collect from the book. All the young men were in love with her. When she wished to please, she had the art of expressing (or seeming to express) a tender interest with her eyes, which were remarkably fine. But, generally speaking, she was not agreeable. I used to make love *à ma manière* to Adelaide. I have seen nothing of either for many years. If she has mentioned me, I have missed the passage ; but I see that Mrs. Jameson mentions me as the "famous" German scholar. That fame

* 'Ticknor's Memoirs.' *Quarterly Review*, July 1876.

must have died out, for Lady Blanche Hozier asked me the other day if I read German, and it is by no means the first time that the same question has been put to me. This is a most egotistic epistle.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

I dined with Chenery on Saturday last, but learnt nothing. I dine to-day with the Arthur Russells, and to-morrow with Solvyns,* so you see we keep moving.

Mr. Hayward to Miss Hayward.

MY DEAREST SISTER,

Feb. 12, 1879.

I send you the *World*, which will amuse you. But the writer was never in my room but once, † and I am only slightly acquainted with him. He is wrong in saying that Lord Byron occupied the two floors: he occupied only the second floor, precisely the same rooms as mine. I go to Lady Granville's this evening.

Ever yours,
A. H.

The power of work and activity of mind in Mr. Hayward is strikingly evinced in this letter to Dr. Smith. He was nearly 78, and yet, before he died, he was destined to write a full score of articles for the *Quarterly*.

Mr. Hayward to Dr. William Smith.

MY DEAR SMITH,

8, St. James's Street,
July 21, 1879.

I feel pretty sure that I can make a popular article on 'Henry the Fourth,' and I am getting up Sully, Brantome,

* Baron Solvyns, Belgian Minister at St. James's.

† "Celebrities at Home." No. cxxx. "Mr. Hayward, Q.C., in St. James's Street." *The World*, Feb. 12, 1879.

&c. &c., by way of preparation. Metternich and Mirabeau also loom in the distance.

I have read with surprise some passages in the article on 'The English Monarchy;' as where (p. 31) the writer, after quoting the *E. R.* to the effect, that a free people find the best security in representative institutions, exclaims, "That is as much as to say that the Crown is not a *representative institution*. But, by the Constitution, the King of England is the representative of his country *before foreign powers* in all matters relating to war, peace, and treaties."

An absolute monarch is the representative of his country for *all* purposes—Louis Quatorze, for example, when he said *L'État, c'est Moi*. Was the French crown under him a representative institution? An ambassador represents: is an ambassador a representative institution? The Prince Consort makes a similar verbal fallacy when he speaks of the Queen as the representative of *the institutions* of the country—as if the Crown represented the Lords and Commons, or one branch of the legislature the two others. When, in constitutional language, we speak of a representative institution, we speak of an elective and responsible one, like the House of Commons. The King of England is neither *elective* nor *responsible*. So far as I understand it, the main argument of the article is to prove, that the monarchy is *not* what is commonly meant by *representative*, but self-dependent. To say that the Crown represents the country for certain specified purposes is very different from saying that it represents the *institutions* of the country; the Crown being *one* of those institutions. I don't want you to answer this, but it may be as well to keep it in mind, when, (as is likely) the controversy is resumed. There is another passage (p. 5) about *divine origin*, which completely mystifies me. Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Hayward.

[EXTRACT.]

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Harley Street,
Aug. 21, 1879.

I have read with great interest your able article on Cavour* which everywhere carries the marks of rich recollections and of a skilful and practical hand.

As to my relation to a prospective Liberal Government, I must leave all speculation free, but the lines of my own conduct are graven for me as with a pen of iron. On p. 111, I feel inclined to pray that a little distinction be drawn between inconsistencies and inconsistencies; as to your translation of *se l'Italia è la cosa va*, "we have made Italy, if all goes well" (p. 137.) Is it not "if Italy now exists, that is progress or ground gained"?

Pray remember me kindly to Lady Molesworth. I am to be back at Hawarden on Monday, to stay till about September 12. We shall be very happy to see you if you can come our way. I should much like to hear of Carlingford. At Chester we had a most enthusiastic meeting of 3,000 strong, with no tickets and open doors, on Tuesday,

Sincerely yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

The lady to whom the next letter is addressed had come to England in 1874, with her husband, Comte de Florian, then an Attaché, but now first Secretary of the French Embassy in London. They were on terms of intimate friendship with Mr. Hayward during the remaining years of his life, and the letters to Madame de Florian supply this correspondence with much of its interest towards the close.

* "Count Cavour." *Quarterly Review*, July 1879. 'Eminent Statesmen and Writers,' vol. i.

Mr. Hayward to Mme. de Florian.

[EXTRACT.]

Pencarrow, Oct. 1, 1879.

By the way of *délassement*, I have been reading some of Balzac's novels over again. They don't improve on acquaintance. The fineness of observation and analysis of feeling are undeniable, but his descriptions both of places and characters are tediously spun out, his plots teem with improbability, and he has a vulgar fondness for wealth and rank.

Mr. Hayward to Mme. de Florian.

Malvern, Oct. 11, 1879.

I have come to pass a couple of days with my sister.* I return to London to-morrow. I shall have a kind of *desœuvré* feeling, till I set to work on another subject, having now finally done with Henry.† I have also in contemplation Metternich, Mirabeau, and Dr. Franklin, of whom a new life has just appeared. Two volumes of memoirs of the Mirabeau family have appeared, but the one on the great Mirabeau has been kept back. I have been reading with much interest the article on Mérimée in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, having myself written essays both on him and Henri Beyle (Stendhal). They were both men of remarkable ability, but both cold and cynical. I knew Mérimée well, but I can't say I ever liked him much. He was well introduced in England, but did not leave a pleasant impression at the country houses he visited. I have received a highly flattering letter from Menabrea about my Cavour article, which

* Miss Frances Hayward.

† "Henry IV. of France." *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1879.

he calls *magnifique*. How is Fanny? * My sister has two Skye terriers, one of whom is the object of general admiration.

Mr. Hayward to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

8, St. James's Street,

DEAR LORD STRATFORD,

Oct. 26, 1879.

Baron Solvyns has given me your epigram, which is capital. I showed it yesterday to Gladstone, whom I met at dinner at Lord Rosebery's. There has been a slight Liberal gain on the registration for Mid Lothian, notwithstanding the faggot votes; and Gladstone's friends are now confident of his success. Public opinion is still wavering about the Government and their management of foreign affairs, and I hardly see how they are to get over the Afghan difficulty. As for Turkey, everything seems to have gone wrong since you ceased to take charge of her; and nothing but a strong controlling power, *with money*, will set her right. One afternoon at Lady Waldegrave's, when the tide was turning in favour of Russia, her probable occupation of Constantinople was suggested, upon which Count Münster† said, "If she reaches it, she won't stay long," and Count Beust,‡ who was present, confirmed Münster. I understood from what passed that there was a clear understanding between Germany and Austria, well known and assented to by Russia, to the effect that she was not to have Constantinople. There is nothing new, therefore, so far as Constantinople is concerned, in the "glad tidings" announced by Lord Salisbury. Since last we met I have written 'Thiers,' 'Bismarck,' 'Cavour,' and 'Henri Quatre'

* Madame de Florian's little dog, which was much attached to Mr. Hayward.

† German Minister at St. James's.

‡ Austrian Minister at St. James's.

for the *Quarterly*. I intend to take Metternich, whose memoirs are on the eve of publication, for my next subject. You must have seen a good deal of him. Did he deserve Talleyrand's sarcasm, "*Il ment toujours et ne trompe jamais*"?

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

LORD STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE'S EPIGRAM.

Fear of knowing too little when Eden was new
Gave us over to Satan's redoubtable clutch ;
Now Science has brought other lights into view,
And we go to the Devil for knowing too much.

Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Hawarden, Nov. 12, 1879.

Very many thanks for kindly directing my attention to the excellent letter in the last *Spectator*, and to the not less weighty point which you had previously handled.

I am rushing out of my arrears, gathered during my absence on the Continent, and preparing to take a survey of the whole field before the Midlothian campaign.

It is a comfort that I cannot make *less* of my case than the Ministers made of theirs at Guildhall.

What can they be quarrelling with Russia about now?

I feel rather obliged to the *Spectator* for its article against the silly scheme propounded, I believe, by —, for carrying me back over twenty-seven years of life, and replacing me in the Finance Department* as Northcote's successor.

How remarkably void this "fall" has been of death

* When Mr. Gladstone returned to office in 1880, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as Prime Minister.

vacancies in the House of Commons, which would have served to indicate the course of public feeling.

Derby seems to have taken his course for good.

Ever yours sincerely,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

Midlothian draws so near, that I will not ask you to come here now ; but I hope you will give us a visit before Parliament meets. If there is a prospect of attractive company, I will let you know.

Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Hayward.

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Hawarden, Nov. 15, 1879.

Many thanks for your letter. As I mentioned the article in the *Spectator*, I should like you to know that I did not, as the *Gaulois* reporter stated, say I should come back to office if it were desired. He unwittingly put words of his own into my mouth. What passed was that, first, as he correctly stated, he asked if I should resume office, and I said No ; that I was now out of the question. He rejoined, *Mais vos compatriotes vont vous forcer* ; I said, *C'est à eux à déterminer, mais je n'en vois aucun signe !* I meant by these words to get out of this branch of the discussion as easily as I could. My duty is clear : it is to hold fast by Granville and Hartington, and try to promote the union and efficiency of the party ed by them. There is in the hands of Mr. S. Morley a letter of mine bearing on this subject, which, treating of a proposed banquet or festival, bore upon this, and which I expected he would have published before this time.

Remember all that was said and done against coercing Turkey, and see what is now coolly talked of, and seemingly to be threatened by *voies de fait*, though one does not well see how it is to be effected. I am afraid the

position of the Government here is at the bottom of it all.

I have not read ——'s speech, but strange words are ascribed to him. It is not for me, I think, to take public notice of them. But I am sorry to say that, while very well spoken of in private life, he is about the most unscrupulous *young* speaker I have ever known. Stanhope, a compeer in the ranks of the party, is far better.

This day week we start for the North, spending Sunday with nephews near Liverpool, and then on to Dalmeny.

Yours sincerely,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

*Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave.**

Athenæum Club,

MY DEAR LADY WALDEGRAVE, [before July] 1879:

I cannot rest under the impression that I have caused the slightest annoyance to any one whom I really *like*— I had almost said, *love*. Pray, therefore, forget any hasty word of mine, or any passing symptom of irritation. God knows I could never feel anything but undying affection to you.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to Mr. Hayward.

Frant Court, Tunbridge Wells,

DEAR MR. HAYWARD, March 25, 1880.

It would give me much pleasure to meet your request in full, but to say the truth my opportunities of personal

* This is the last letter from Mr. Hayward to Lady Waldegrave. It is curiously characteristic of him. Lady Waldegrave died on the 5th of July, 1879, and he used to say she was a sad loss to him.

acquaintance with Lord Wellesley * were very limited. His eldest son, Richard, was at Eton when I was there, and the intimacy we contracted with each other at school continued in after days. With his illustrious father I never had more than one conversation. I had my reasons for keeping at a distance. Years had passed away when the Great Consumer of all things had made them of no importance. Not much less than half a century has followed since, at a later period, I learnt from Lord Hatherton that his father-in-law, the Marquis, had expressed a wish to see me. I went in consequence to Fulham, where Lord Wellesley was then residing. I found him in his garden, and walked about with him for a good hour, teeming with interest derived from his character and intellectual qualities. Our conversation was chiefly political, and in the whole course of it, at one time, figured the commanding statesman, at another the accomplished orator ; to say nothing of wit, scholarship, and the recollection of by-gone events.

This is really the sum in few words of my personal acquaintance with the man who occupied so large a space in our miraculous history of Indian Conquest.

Small as it is, have the kindness to accept it as evidence of my friendly inclination to meet your wishes.

Believe me, very sincerely yours,

STRATFORD DE R.

Mr. Hayward to Mme. de Florian.

London, April 1, 1880.

I miss you very much. All my lady friends are away, and I have no alternative but to talk politics by way of *délassement*. I have finished my article, and with the

* Mr. Hayward wrote an article on "The Marquess Wellesley," in the *Quarterly Review*, April 1880, reproduced in 'Eminent Statesmen and Writers,' vol. i. (Murray.)

consolatory reflection that I have again postponed the period when some sympathising friend (not you, I hope) will play Gil Blas and tell me "vous baissez."

I had a letter yesterday from a lady friend, describing her state of feeling with extraordinary frankness. She evidently wanted an "épanchement de cœur." I have given her the best possible advice, which will be all thrown away, as it invariably is on either man or woman who is run away with by imagination or the heart. My charming friends so often make me the recipient of their irregular fancies, that I begin to fear that their estimate of my moral principles is not so high as it should be.

I have been longing for the fall of the Disraeli Government as I did for the fall of the Second Empire. My second wish is about to be gratified. At least, the first day of the elections promises well for the Liberals, and the beginning always influences the middle and the end. People like to be on the winning side. A change of Government would imply no change of policy, so far as the position of England with reference to the Continental Powers is concerned. The French and German papers are under a complete error on this subject. Rest assured, we should not interfere in any Continental quarrel now, any more than we did in 1870. Lord Hartington has distinguished himself wonderfully by his election speeches.

Mr. Hayward to Mme. de Florian.

London, April 10, 1880.

We are all full of the elections, although the main interest is pretty well over.* The Liberal success is beyond all anticipation, and I am amused at the

* The Dissolution had taken place on the 24th of March. The result of the General Election was a Liberal majority of 120.

attempts made to palliate it by attributing it to popular caprice ; as if six years of what we think misgovernment was not enough to justify a change. I am reminded of what Voltaire said of the discovery of America by Columbus : that *before* it was made, people said it was impossible—*after*, that there was nothing in it. Gladstone has been the Columbus. A young nobleman, only six weeks ago, said to me, “ You talk of Liberals—where are they ? I meet with none.” He has found some in his own country at all events. I have just heard this young gentleman has lost his seat. The *Quarterly* will not be published till the 24th. The editor tells me he has a very good article on Madame de Rémusat, which I am glad to hear, as it will certainly be attributed to me, the subject being so much in my way.

Mr. Hayward to Lady Eastlake.

DEAR LADY EASTLAKE, 8, St. James's Street,
April 11, 1880.

I feel much flattered by your communication, and am glad to hear that you meditate * to our lamented friend, which, coming from you, cannot fail to be an appropriate one. I send you some of her letters, which you may use as you think fit. My own personal impression of her is that she was one of the three or four best, kindest, high-minded and highly-cultivated women I ever knew. She had both head and heart, thought and feeling, and nothing was more remarkable in her than her elevated, unerring sense of truth and justice. She was an admirable judge of character, and an excellent critic. I never felt satisfied with any of my own writings till approved by her. She must not be weighed by her books, nor hardly by her letters, although these contain

* Mrs. Grote died in 1878, and this year Lady Eastlake brought out a memoir of her.

more of her intellectual powers. Where she excelled, where she brought out the best qualities of her mind and her wide range of knowledge, was in her conversation, which was rich, full, and varied to an extraordinary degree. She talked with equal ease and spirit on the lightest and the gravest topics, but when the subject lent itself to the serious mode of treatment, she was fond of penetrating below the surface, of taking the philosophical view, and of deducing something like a general conclusion or moral. I do not believe I ever passed an hour with her without being instructed as well as gratified.

In my published sketch of Lady Palmerston, I took occasion to combat the prevalent notion, that sensibility and impressibility are destroyed or blunted by advancing years; my theory being that "where fancy and feeling are supposed to have decayed or died out, they never in point of fact existed: [the blush and exuberance of youthful spirits were mistaken for them. Lady Palmerston never lost her wonderful freshness." Neither did Mrs. Grote. Her impressions were as lively, her sympathies as warm, her affections as expansive when she was past eighty, as they could have been at eighteen.

She was proud of her family and attached importance to birth, to coming, as she said, of a good stock, on the principle of *noblesse oblige*. M. Guizot never made a greater mistake than when (in his 'Memoirs') he spoke of her as representing the *bourgeoisie*.

With best regards, &c. &c.,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Mme. de Florian.

St. James's Street,

April 20, 1880.

After the meeting of Parliament (on the 29th) there will be a suspension of business for ten days or a fortnight,

for the new Ministers who are members of the House of Commons to get re-elected. We are still in suspense as to the future Premier. It must be Gladstone, unless he positively declines, and there strikes me to be no alternative between his being Premier or nothing. The Liberals calculated on a majority, although not so decisive as it turned out. I have seen their calculation made out three months, but I own the result came upon me by surprise. The fact is, London opinion is no longer a criterion of the country, and the talk of the fashionable world is invariably anti-Liberal. Depend upon it, there will be no sudden change of policy, that is to say, as regards measures or steps to be taken. The change will be in spirit. For example, England will now cordially go along with France as to Greece.

People talk of Radicalism. During my long life I never remember a period when the English *people* were less Radical than now. *You* have good reason to fear it; *we* have none whatever. There are not ten men (set aside some Irish Home Rulers) in the new House who would upset the Constitution if they could.

The *Quarterly* will not be published till Saturday next. A political crisis is fatal to literature.

Mr. Hayward to Miss Hayward.

MY DEAREST SISTER, 8, St. James's Street,
April 24, 1880.

I could not dine with the Gladstones yesterday, being engaged to Lord and Lady Dartrey, but I went after dinner, and found him (after his return from Windsor) with Lord Hartington and Lord Granville. It was a great point to secure the *Times*; so, after being told the exact state of things, I went off in the middle of the night to the *Times* Office, where I saw Chenery, the editor, an intimate friend of mine; and the first leading

article in the *Times* of to-day was the result. Lord Granville is Foreign Secretary,

Ever yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Mme. de Florian.

May 5, 1880.

I have been doing good service during the crisis, which is entirely disinterested on my part, as there is nothing which, at my age, I could or would take.* I went to Mentmore, the Rothschilds', now Rosebery Château, on Saturday, and stayed till yesterday. It is a palace in the Louis Quinze style; splendid rooms of rare and curious things. The Gladstones were invited, but could not come, and we had only Miss Gladstone, Lord and Lady Reay, Lady Edward Cavendish, &c. Lord Carlingford was offered the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland as well as the Embassy to Constantinople. The Gladstones move into the official residence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as soon as they can get it furnished and set in order, and I have no doubt she will receive.

Mr. Hayward to Dr. William Smith.

[EXTRACT.]

MY DEAR SMITH,

8 St. James's Street,
Jan. 19, 1881.

I have been reading the *Endymion* article with amusement and surprise. It is startling to find Canning and

* Mr. Hayward here alludes to the part he took in bringing about an explanation between Mr. Gladstone and Count Karolyi (the Austrian Ambassador), in reference to Mr. Gladstone's remarks on Austria when electioneering, and before he became Premier. The matter afterwards formed the subject of a short and amicable diplomatic correspondence—*vide* 'Times,' 19th May, 1880: Letter signed "Veritas," written by Mr. Hayward.

Lord Russell classed with illiterate rulers, and to be told that they, in common with Walpole, Shelburn, Peel and Palmerston, are fast fading into obscurity, because they have not written about themselves and no one else would dream of chanting their achievements. I had a notion that, somehow or other, all of them had found biographers. Then, no mention is made of Lord Chatham and Pitt as belonging to the illiterate class, nor of Gladstone, George Lewis and the late Lord Derby as having combined literature with politics. In fact, it would seem as if nothing was to count but flashy, trashy novels.

It was Wolfe who said he would rather have written the *Elegy* than conquer *that night*, and a very foolish saying it was.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Mme. de Florian.

St. James's Street,
Jan. 31, 1881.

My article on Campbell* has been very successful, rather to my surprise, since I thought it would only be interesting to professional people. I have now got a splendidly illustrated book on Florence by Yriarte, whose book on Venice I made the foundation of an essay. I think of writing a *pendant* on Florence.

We are too much occupied with Ireland and the Transvaal to be thinking about Greece, but there will certainly be war, unless the Powers interpose; and as they have already declared that Greece is entitled to the territory which she claims, I do not see the use of another Conference, unless with the view of saying, once for all, what *must* and *shall* be done.

* "Lord Campbell's Memoirs." *Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1881.

Mr. Hayward to Mme. de Florian.

London, March 2, 1881.

I have been playing the Iconoclast to Carlyle, as you will see by the enclosed letter to the *Times*. Nine out of ten of my most intellectual acquaintances agree with me, but it has produced a sensation. I had engaged to review the forthcoming volume of Carlyle's writings, laying by 'Florence' for a future occasion.

All the Budget arrangements which would have been a great success are upset this year by this war with the Boers, whom we ought to have let alone.

I think the Irish agitation will be quieted in three months. But only for a time.

Mr. Hayward to Mme. de Florian.

March 31, 1881.

The great event now at present is Lord Beaconsfield's illness, the result of which you will hear by telegraph before this reaches you.

Gladstone's Government since the division on Candahar is stronger than ever, although the Transvaal has been a sad and humiliating affair. Things improve in Ireland but slowly. The news of to-day is that the Turks and Greeks may be kept from going to war. I have just finished my article on Carlyle.* I had to read Carlyle's works over again, and I have consequently read hardly anything else of late, not even Mérimée's letters to Panizzi. The female world is thrown into confusion by the distribution of papers requiring every one to set down his or her exact age and occupation on the 4th of April. At the last Census, according to the returns, there was hardly a female servant in London over forty.

* "Thomas Carlyle and his Reminiscences." *Quarterly Review*, April 1881.

Mrs. A. Procter to Mr. Hayward.

19, Albert Hall Mansion,
Kensington Gore, S.W.

MY DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

April 2, 1881.

I have seen the *Times*, and am greatly gratified by the good honest trimming that the Philosopher, as his admirers call him, has received. I fancied that a philosopher was one who quietly submitted to the inevitable—not one who roared and screamed about every trifle.

Mr. Carlyle's letters surely are vulgar—writing about small things not worth writing about.

Self was the great object both husband and wife had always before them. You will observe that neither Carlyle nor his wife ever care about any one but themselves. No sorrow for any one—no rejoicing for any one.

As to the story of Leigh Hunt kissing the woman, I don't believe one word of it—he was essentially a gentleman.

Mrs. C. was angry at his taking notice of any one but her. The smack is a lie.

Even I am weary of Carlyle,—his conceits, his home, his wife, his servants, and now we have his trousers.

I shall look anxiously for the second notice in the *Times*.

Your visit was very kind on Sunday; they say gratitude is a hope of future favours!

Yours,

ANNE B. PROCTER.

Mr. Hayward to Mme. de Florian.

May 18, 1881.

I went to Ireland on a visit to the O'Hagans* during Easter week, and very pleasant it was. But things have

* Lord O'Hagan was Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

been getting much worse since I was there. If the Lords throw out the Land Bill there will be a universal refusal to pay rent, and the Coercion Bill has already ceased to inspire terror. Our press are all attacking France for the affair of Tunis ; but it is not for us, after Cyprus, Afghanistan, and the Transvaal, to throw the first stone. My article on Carlyle has had a great success. I am now at work on Yriarte's 'Florence.'*

Mr. Hayward to Mme. de Florian.

Aug. 21, 1881.

You must not think of returning to Rome for the next six weeks, which is the worst season there. I was there in September, but I was thought very imprudent. Is there really a chance of our meeting in Paris? I feel quite gladdened even by the chance. I think of going there on the 29th, and think of staying a fortnight, but I am not tied down to a day. Owing to the Irish, the Session is likely to be prolonged till the middle of next week. Gladstone has had a great triumph, and stands higher than ever in public opinion. He is also more abused than ever by the Tories. I am steadily at work on my article on "Luxury," † no other subject having suggested itself. I have just received £150 on account of my last book, rather to my surprise, as the sale of books is lamentably checked by the circulating libraries. I play whist daily with generals and admirals; they are the visitors of the 'Athenæum' during repair to the 'United Service.'

Mr. Hayward to Mme. de Florian.

[EXTRACT.]

Hôtel du Louvre, Paris, Sept. 8, 1881.

I can hardly tell you the extreme pleasure which it gave me to see you once again, and to see your husband

* "Florence." *Quarterly Review*, July 1881.

† "Luxury, Ancient and Modern." *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1881.

too, who is always so kind. I have absolutely seen not a solitary acquaintance since you left, and have been as regular as clock-work: writing in the morning, then *flânant*, and then the theatre. I found 'Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie' very amusing, and 'Niniche' gave me a good laugh, although rather too extravagant. It is one of the penalties of long life to have seen everything and known everybody—'Connu, Connu,' is now my constant exclamation, and it is sadly destructive of energy.

"When Mrs. Langtry made her private *début*, the late Mr. Chenery (editor of the *Times*) expressed his relief at discovering that Mr. Hayward possessed a ticket for the performance and was willing to write a notice of it. The critique was short and wisely moderate, but it struck the key-note which the press of two countries at once took up." Mrs. Langtry, at Lord Torrington's suggestion, wrote to thank Mr. Hayward for his critique, and the following letter is his reply.

Mr. Hayward to Mrs. Langtry.

8, St. James's Street,

Dec. 16, 1881.

MY DEAR MRS. LANGTRY,

I do assure you I wrote down my exact impressions, which were confirmed by those about me. There was one thing I did not like to say, for comparisons are odious, and I might have made you enemies by saying it. But I did not hear half what the other women said, and I heard every syllable uttered by you. I made this remark at the time to Lord Torrington. Your voice alone will make your success. I should like very much to have a talk with you, and I will take my chance of finding you at home, if you cannot name a time when I am likely to find you.

Ever faithfully yours,

A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Mme. de Florian.

Jan. 9, 1882.

The English, as a rule, care little for foreign politics, and we are thinking more of the failure of the commercial treaty than of Italy, Turkey, or Germany. Ireland is still the absorbing question; with us things are improving, but not so fast as could be wished. Most of my personal friends have got their rents, and the greater Irish landlords are, on the whole, not worse off than the English. I have finished my article on Montlosier* for the *Quarterly*, which will be published on the 25th, and I am now looking about for another subject. We have nothing fresh in English literature, except eternal books of travels in every quarter of the world.

Madame de Novikoff† to Mr. Hayward.

Crawley's Hotel,
Albemarle Street,
Jan. 22, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. HAYWARD,

You have taken such an enlightened, clever view of this absurd Jewish agitation that I think it a duty to show you the three enclosed letters, which please return to-morrow morning.

Allow me also to add some details which reach me from Warsaw.

At Christmas, in one of the largest churches, some pickpockets or Nihilists shouted the word "Fire!" At that time, as you know, everybody was yet full of the Vienna disaster. In the terrible panic and rush to the

* "The Count de Montlosier." *Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1882.

† This lady is the sister of Colonel Nicolas Kiréeff, the first Russian volunteer killed in Servia, July 1876, and is the author of 'Russia and England; from 1876-1880, by O. K.' (Longmans, 1880).

doors, many people were not only injured but even killed, (in fact, from forty to fifty persons).

Now, you are well aware that Roman Catholic Poles are very fanatical. Somebody exclaimed to the Polish mob: "This is the work of blaspheming Jews; they insulted our Church; they wanted to destroy the lives of true Catholics! Let us have our retaliation at once!" Off they rushed to the Jewish shops, drinking-houses and private houses, attacked the inhabitants (though not the women and children, as was alleged), and did a serious harm, no doubt, to Jewish property of every sort. I hear now that the number of the arrested exceeds even 3,000.

I must add also that the Province *Goborno*, where the greatest horrors are supposed to have taken place, *does not exist at all*.

The Philo-Jews are, however, going so far in their zeal as to throw an infamous light upon me and "*my mission*." Perhaps you will allow me to give you some details, which Lobanoff, Schouvaloff, or anybody belonging to the good Russian society can easily endorse.

My father was a very cultivated, intelligent nobleman, living partly in Moscow, partly on his large estates.

My mother, a great beauty indeed, occupied all her life a very good social position. My brothers and myself were Emperor Nicholas's god-children. My brothers were "*Pages de la Chambre*" to the late Empress.

My husband was *général attaché au Grand Duc Nicolas*; his brother is the R. Ambassador at Constantinople.

When our boy became eight years old, we left (for the sake of his health and education) St. Petersburg, and since then we three inhabit Moscow.

When my brother was killed in Serbia, the idea struck me as a light from above, that, had Russia and England been friends, many noble and generous causes would find in their friendship a strong and useful support.

Hence all my literary and political work. I always played "*cartes sur table*," every step of mine was known, and I could be controlled by anybody. My husband, though himself not travelling, does not object to my going abroad. In fact, according to Russian laws, *he alone has the right* to give me the passport, without which no Russian woman is allowed to leave her country.

Here is a page of my biography, and many apologies for bothering you with so long a letter.

I am leaving England on February 6. Once more, many hearty thanks for all.

O. K.

Mr. Hayward to Miss Hayward.

MY DEAREST FANNY,

Jan. 31, 1882.

I see no probability of war, as England is on the best possible terms with all the European Powers, and affairs both in India and Africa have taken a pacific turn. The Government are doing all that can be done in Ireland, which is by no means in so bad a condition as the *Times* and the Tory speakers would lead you to suppose. I dined with Gladstone, and never saw him in better health and spirits.

Ever yours,

A. H.

Mr. Hayward to Miss Hayward.

MY DEAREST FANNY,

May 16, 1882.

The object of the murders * was to make the breach between the two countries wider, and to defeat conciliatory measures which alone will ever pacify Ireland. The *Times* is playing the game of the murderers. I knew both the murdered men.

* Of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke.

I am sorry for Forster, who is an intimate friend of mine, but he has made a great mistake.

I saw Gladstone yesterday, and had some talk with him. He told me that he had got over the shock of the murders, dreadful as it was, and had good hopes still of bringing things round in Ireland.

The Tories are talking trash. They have not a chance. The Government is as strong as ever. I have been playing whist with Forster this very afternoon after his row in the House of Commons, and he seemed very little disturbed by it.

Ever yours,
A. H.

Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Hayward.

10, Downing Street, Whitehall,

MY DEAR HAYWARD,

Oct. 18, 1882.

Though compared with my class I am *parcus newspaperorum cultor et infrequens*, I had read the letter* yesterday, and suggested you as the probable author.

It seems to have been an inconsiderate outburst of a good man.

I also made the observation that Tennyson might be added, under the elastic definition you have given.

I cannot be sorry that there is a desire to save Arabi, or anybody else; but I presume the meaning is, they hope nothing of crime will be proved against him to make his death necessary.

* Lord Carnarvon had stated that three-fourths of the literary power of the country and four-fifths of the intellectual ability were on the Conservative side. Mr. Hayward wrote a letter in the *Times*, October 14, challenging Lord Carnarvon's statement. Mr. Hayward always maintained the exact contrary view to Lord Carnarvon: ;

On Friday morning I am bound for London, where I hope to see you.

Mrs. Langtry has worked hard, and I am glad she is well paid. From America she will come back a millionaire.

Yours very faithfully,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

Mr. Hayward to Mme. de Florian.

Sept. 1883.

I must write if only to say how grateful I feel to you for bearing with all my sentimentalities in prose and verse. In my case it is now too late to mend. I shall remain sensitive and susceptible to the last. I am positively better, in every point of view, for our conversations, and again and again do I find myself repeating—

“ I prized every hour that flew by,
As I never had prized them before ;
But now they are gone, and I sigh
To think that I prized them no more.”

I am going to pass a day at Malvern with my sister, to whom I am very much attached. You would like her, if you like me, for we have a great deal in common, especially as regards fancy and the sense of humour. But perhaps it is conceited of me to say this ; for are not fancy and feeling the two things that most contribute to agreeability ? Feeling, to appreciate, admire and sympathise ; fancy, to enliven, amuse, and illustrate.

Byron says—

“ No more, no more. Oh, never more on me
The freshness of the heart will fall like dew
Which out of all the lovely things we see
Extracts emotions beautiful and new.”

Now I don't know whether this power of extracting emotions from lovely things will last, but I had it and exercised it very recently. Here, however, I am getting on dangerous ground, so I will conclude, with the sincerest admiration and esteem,

Ever faithfully yours,
A. HAYWARD.

Mr. Hayward to Miss Hayward.

Hôtel Fontaine, Ostende,
MY DEAREST SISTER, Sept. 3, 1883.

This place agrees with me so well that I think of staying another week. The King returned on Thursday, and I dined with him on Friday. He sent for me yesterday on the public walk, and made me sit with him for half-an-hour. To-day he has asked me to join an excursion in his yacht from three to six, and as the sea is perfectly calm I dare say it will be pleasant enough. Lady Molesworth won't venture. The company is an amusing mixture of Belgians, Germans, and Russians. Few English and fewer French.

Ever yours,
A. H.

The last time Mr. Hayward was in Paris he spent a day at Chantilly. With the illustrious host of that princely *château* he had long been on terms of friendship ; and one day, during his last visit to Paris, the Duc d'Aumale noticed on the other side of the way the slight bent form of Mr. Hayward. On seeing the Prince, Mr. Hayward crossed over to him, when they entered into conversation, in the course of which Mr. Hayward remarked that all his old friends were dead, and that Paris was a changed place to him. The Prince concluded

the conversation by inviting Mr. Hayward to Chantilly. He alludes to this visit in his next letter.

Mr. Hayward to Miss Hayward.

Grand Hôtel du Louvre,
MY DEAREST SISTER, Sunday.

The weather is all I could wish to-day and I hope it will last till I depart on Friday or Saturday next. I am going to Chantilly on Wednesday, to pass the day with the Duc d'Aumale.

Ever yours,
A. H.

Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Hayward.

Hawarden Castle, Chester,
MY DEAR HAYWARD, Oct. 17, 1883.

Many thanks for your interesting letter. For once, the *Edinburgh* has presented the stronger attraction. I think the article about Lord Aberdeen is well done, and it is certainly very interesting.* My account of him (which was from the bottom of my heart) has been published without leave, probably through inadvertence.

But I shall now turn to the *Quarterly*, and hope to read you very soon. On the way to Bugeaud, I am encountered by Hawkins, who blocks the way. He was a noteworthy man. Horner and Shakespear are famous for not exhibiting themselves; but here Dean Burgon turns up in every page.

I hope you will come down and see us, while we have yet some leaves on the trees. Attorney-General comes to-morrow: Lacaita a day or two after: Herbert, reeking of Leeds, Monday or Tuesday. The Spencers I hope, are in the offing; the Derbys are booked for the

* "The Correspondence of Lord Aberdeen." *Edinburgh Review*, October 1883.

31st. Now you have a bill of fare, pray choose your dish. I ought to mention, that young Newcastle is asked to meet the Derbys.*

From what you say of Mrs. Langtry I gather that she is making progress in her art, and has shown a courage and perseverance of which her long purse is the desired reward.

Yours sincerely,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

Mr. Hayward's letter to Mr. Gladstone brings the Correspondence to a close. Returning from Paris, he finished in October his article on Marshal Bugeaud—the last he wrote for the *Quarterly Review*—which fully testifies to the extraordinary vitality of his mental powers when he was eighty-three years old. Soon afterwards his physical strength began to fail; he was seized with a "chill:" in reality a weakening of the action of the heart, which produced congestion of the lungs. After a little while he seemed to be better, and dined every evening at the "Athenæum;" but his extreme weakness made the effort too great, and he was soon compelled to confine himself to his little suite of rooms in St. James's Street. All that medical science could suggest, all that the solicitude of friends could devise, was done to alleviate the physical suffering and distress, the mental weariness, and the loneliness of confinement during his illness. At first he remained in his sitting-room during the day-time; and although his great weakness and the state of his lungs prevented much talking, yet his remarks continued to exhibit all his accustomed

* Mr. Hayward was obliged to give up his visit to Hawarden, as he did not at the time feel strong enough to make the journey there.

decision. His mind, too, till quite near his death, was perfectly clear and comprehensive. He took the liveliest interest in the condition of affairs in Egypt at the time, and almost in his last days evinced the deepest anxiety about the result of Baker's expedition. There was an actual eagerness to visit him on the part of distinguished people; and in the midst of avocations that happened at that time to be more than commonly pressing, Mr. Gladstone found time to be with him, and to engage him in conversations of singular interest. Towards the end of January, Mr. Hayward became weaker and unable to leave his bed. The end was gradually approaching. Nursing, tending, comforting him to the last, Lord Torrington, himself ill, almost dying, attended his dying friend. His devotion, his affectionate care, was shared by another, the most intimate friend of all—Mr. Kinglake. Supported and assisted by these two, and with his beloved sister near him, Mr. Hayward passed through the valley of the shadow of death, and expired peacefully and painlessly on the morning of Saturday the 2nd of February, 1884.

THE END.



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